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Revolutionary New Jersey 1763-1787

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This fifth article in the series which began in the PROCEEDINGS *of January, 1951, deals with the political side of New Jersey's history in the Revolutionary period. The military story will be told in our next issue. Professor Cowen is a member of the Rutgers University faculty, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, University College. He is the author of several monographs on the history of pharmacy, several on pharmacy in New Jersey.*

THE year 1763 was a critical if not climactic year in the history of the British Empire. British hegemony of the eastern half of North America was now complete, and the menace of the French, and to some extent of the Indians, was now largely removed. With the end of the Seven Years' War, constitutional, commercial, and financial problems of imperial policy, long neglected (albeit sometimes knowingly), had finally to be faced.

It was in April of 1763 that George Grenville, chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury, became head of the cabinet. He took the place held not long before by William Pitt, the man who probably understood American affairs better than most of his compatriots. A month later, William Franklin, last of the royal governors of New Jersey, took office. He took the place of astonished Josiah Hardy, recalled in disgrace for conceding to the pressure of the Assembly and disobeying his instructions by the appointment of judges to good behavior tenures.

For thirteen turbulent years—the longest term of any royal governor and following a string of five predecessors in six years—the Tory son of Benjamin Franklin adroitly served his royal master. Symbolic of the course of empire, William Franklin was first rendered impotent by the revolutionary forces, and then, in 1776, removed from New Jersey under duress.

Despite the significance of the year 1763 in the history of the colonies and of New Jersey, the forces that came to a head during Franklin's term did not suddenly appear with Grenville and Franklin. The political conflicts of the royal colony of New Jersey before 1763, whether over currency, judicial tenure, civil lists, salaries, land, or taxes, basically all revolved around the struggle of the Assembly for political independence. The Revolutionary movement after 1763 was but a continuation of this basic conflict, aggravated by the changed imperial policy and sharpened by the impact of that policy on the economy of the colony.

New Jersey was one of the first to feel the whip of the new discipline put into effect after 1763 when Governor Hardy was removed from office. The colony, however, was not to feel the indignities of the suspension of its Assembly as did New York in 1767, or of repressive legislation like the Intolerable Acts directed against Massachusetts in 1774. It was disciplined more subtly by royal pressure in matters pertaining to legal tender issues and to civil lists.

There was nothing subtle about such acts as the Sugar Act and Currency Act of 1764. Almost unbelievably, these laws, involving trade restriction and precipitous deflation, were passed at a time when all signs pointed to a depression. Both Britain and the colonies had begun to feel the effects of post-war retrenchment, and by 1765 the severity of the depression was evident. The recession was to last more than a decade, and reached a low point again in 1775. Economic distress was prominent in the background of all the strains and counter-strains of the ten years preceding the Revolution.

In New Jersey the imperial policy had its typical effect. Although the province had little direct trade with the West Indies and although it had never substantially procured its specie

from the triangular trade directly, yet its merchants suffered under the restrictions. The "amazing scarcity of money [was] occasioned by a sudden stagnation of trade," complained Tory Cortlandt Skinner in 1765. "The laws of trade had ruined the merchants."

The financial condition of the province was indeed serious. New Jersey had customarily resorted to the issuance of paper money, and some of the major conflicts between the Assembly and governor or king revolved around the problem. The dependence of the colony on such issues—and the success of the Assembly—was evidenced by the fact that between 1754 and 1764 some £347,500 in paper money had been issued. New Jersey had not, as had some of the other provinces, highly inflated its currency, and New Jersey money usually stood up well in comparison with the currencies of its neighbors. But at the moment of the passage of the Currency Act, the provincial debt stood at £300,000, the largest of the North American colonies, and the outstanding bills of credit were to be retired at an average of £13,800 for each of the next nineteen years. To New Jersey, thus, the restriction was double-barreled: not only must it in the future do without paper money, but it must at the same time reduce the quantity of bills in circulation.

The fiscal plight of the colonial government and the stagnation of trade were soon reflected in the whole economy. The monetary stringency added to agrarian distress already acute enough from falling prices and crop failures. The depression began to sharpen class conflicts as debtors found no relief. Herein lay the seeds of rebellion.

As early as 1763 debtors in prison were clamoring for relief; in 1768 the jails were still full of them. From 1766 to 1776 over four thousand mortgages, valued at about £950,000, were written. Foreclosure and bankruptcy announcements in the newspapers leave no question of the acuteness and generality of the distress.

Pleas to the Assembly for relief could hardly mean much. Bankruptcy acts and bounties (for the growing of hemp, flax, and silk) were passed. But the object of the mounting pressure—a loan-office act—ran into disallowance by the Crown. In 1768

the Assembly, after a series of petitions, passed a £100,000 loan-office bill that was promptly disallowed by the Privy Council since the act made the bills legal tender. The New Jersey Assembly had always disdained the issuance of bills that were not legal tender, but in 1769 its new loan-office act omitted mention of the objectionable words. Instead it was provided that the bills be accepted by the loan office in payments of debts due it. Even Franklin's comment that without such a provision the loan-office act would be absurd had no effect, and again the Privy Council rejected the act as creating a legal tender issue. The resentment which this veto aroused in New Jersey led the Assembly to refuse to provide for the British troops in the province, and for a while the currency issue was lost in the wrangle over this issue.

In 1775 the currency question was settled, both too late and too little. For although there was provision for £100,000 of loan-office bills, the Privy Council had won; the bills were not to be legal tender.

It was under conditions such as these that the seeds of rebellion began to sprout. The debtor class lashed out at their creditors and at the legal profession, both of whom they accused of conspiring to reduce them to poverty. The Assembly was asked to regulate the practice of law, and the Sons of Liberty directed a portion of their activity against both creditors and lawyers. In 1769 and 1770 rioting broke out—ugly violence by mobs of as many as 150—which sought to stop the workings of judicial machinery in foreclosure proceedings and which was directed as well against the legal profession. There was also involved a good deal of the smouldering controversy with the Proprietors.

It is significant that in Monmouth County no jury would convict any of the rioters, that at Newark the barn-burners and rioters called themselves "liberty boys," and that most of the Proprietors found their way later to the British lines. The resentment against British authority and the resentment against the position and power of the dominant class in the province, were taking on an ominous identity. At least it can be said that the debtor-creditor, settler-Proprietor controversies exacerbated

the bitterness, even if it be not true that the revolutionary movement in New Jersey was a clear-cut case of class warfare.

In 1765, at the very outset of all of this difficulty, Grenville's Stamp Tax had been enacted. The merchant, the farmer, and the debtor all had their grievances; now came the turn of the lawyer and the publisher. By the time the Stamp Tax was repealed early in 1766, all the techniques of rebellion, legal, extralegal, and illegal, had been tried: propaganda, petition, boycott, committees of correspondence, provincial congresses, intercolonial congresses, sons of liberty, threats, and violence.

In almost all of this activity New Jersey participated; in some it played a leading part. By September 3, 1765 (the act was to become effective November 1), William Coxe, the New Jersey stamp officer, resigned, convinced by a variety of threats. A few weeks later Governor Franklin was forced to report to his Council that he could find no one to accept the position vacated by Coxe, since the office had become "very obnoxious" to the people. Indeed, except accidentally, no stamps were ever brought into New Jersey.

The lawyers of the province, meeting in the Supreme Court at a meeting presided over by Chief Justice Smyth personally, set the example for the other colonies. The bar resolved not to buy any stamps, remaining within the law by the expedient of doing no business which required stamps. This self-denial became somewhat irksome, and at a meeting in February, 1766, it was decided that if the act was not repealed by April 1, business would be done with complete disregard of the act's requirements. Some lawyers and courts actually began to do business immediately without the stamps.

From New Jersey, too, came the first revolutionary newspaper, the *Constitutional Courant*. Published at Woodbridge, it was circulated for one day, September 21, 1765, in New York, and suppressed for its anti-Parliamentary utterances.

In the meantime, the Stamp Act Congress had been summoned by Massachusetts. Assembly Speaker Robert Ogden had at first turned down the invitation for New Jersey to send delegates. When he decided to accept (in October, 1765) it was too

late for an official calling of the Assembly. Instead he called for an unofficial meeting of Assembly members, to choose the delegates. He and twelve Assemblymen met at Perth Amboy, the first unofficial assembly to meet in the province.

At the Stamp Act Congress New Jersey's Hendrick Fisher and Joseph Borden approved the resolutions and petitions that were presented. Only New Jersey's Robert Ogden, and one other delegate, refused to give their approval. Ogden believed that the protests should better come from the provincial, and legally constituted, bodies. Indicative of the public feeling in the matter, however, was the abuse Ogden received at the hands of the populace, and the virtual reprimand he was given by the Assembly. Shortly thereafter he resigned his membership and speakership in the Assembly.

At a special meeting held shortly after the close of the Stamp Act Congress, the Assembly approved the actions of Fisher and Borden and passed eleven resolutions, copying verbatim several of those adopted by the Congress. But New Jersey had something to add to the claim of rights and liberties of English subjects. The Assembly contended that the Stamp Tax was "utterly subversive of privileges inherent and originally secured by grants and confirmations from the crown of Great Britain to the settlers of this colony." They were referring to the provisions in the Grants and Concessions of 1665 which provided that there be no taxation except by the general assembly, disregarding the facts that the grants were by the Lords Proprietors, not the Crown, and that the Crown contended that the Grants and Concessions were voided when the province became a royal colony in 1702.

The opposition to parliamentary taxation now had a semblance of legality in the Assembly resolutions, but the matter hardly could be permitted to rest there. Groups of "patriots" took it upon themselves to keep the opposition to the Stamp Tax alive. By December, 1765, they were calling themselves "Sons of Liberty" and local units appeared throughout the colony. By their rallies, resolutions, speeches, threats, and burnings in effigy, they kept the lawyers in line, forced Coxe to resign, and made it impossible for a successor to be chosen. It was they who made "no taxation without representation" a fighting slogan; it was

they who insisted, while swearing allegiance to the king, on their "just Rights and Liberties."

When news of the repeal of the Stamp Tax reached New Jersey in April, 1766, there was widespread rejoicing. Rejoice the colonies might, for, choosing to disregard the implications of the Declaratory Act, they had found the combination that humbled king and Parliament.

But the colonies were soon to learn that the New Jersey Assembly was much too sanguine when it thanked the British government "for penetrating the True Cause of Our Uneasiness." The aims of British policy had not changed. Momentarily thwarted, it had neither seen the light nor changed its course.

The storm broke the next year with the passage of the Townshend Acts. To New Jersey, troubled of course by the new duties, the new customs establishment, and the suspension of the New York Assembly, probably the worst blow was the provision by which the civil and judicial administration of the colony could be supported with revenue raised by the duties. Governor Franklin had in effect won a point that he had failed to gain by a request to the Assembly in 1763, or by scheming over certain Delaware River islands in 1765. At about the time the Townshend Acts were passed, Franklin was hoping that he could win an independent civil list from the Assembly if a paper money issue were to be allowed. But New Jersey remained one of the two provinces in which Crown officers continued at the mercy of the Assemblies. In 1771, however, the chief justice was placed on the civil list, and the next year, by a threat to expand the list, the governor forced the Assembly to increase salaries.

The Townshend Acts did not really create a great flurry in New Jersey. Perhaps this was because the province had so small a foreign trade and depended upon the ports of Philadelphia and New York. There seems to be little indication of active participation in the non-importation agreements by New Jersey merchants either after the Stamp Tax or after the Townshend duties. Yet the Assembly, despite the threats of Lord Hillsborough and the fate of the New York Assembly, had the Massachusetts circular letter read (April, 1768), and sent a petition to the king that followed the Massachusetts pattern. In the same spirit, when

New York merchants withdrew from the non-importation agreements after news of repeal of the duties arrived, New Jersey showed unmistakably that it considered the action of the New York merchants unpatriotic.

While the Townshend Acts may have created little furore in New Jersey, the friction between Assembly and governor, between province and home government, continued unabated. The issue that came to the fore was the Quartering Act of 1765. For four years the Assembly held the upper hand, limiting the amounts appropriated and insisting upon control of the commissioners by the Assembly, so that two acts were disallowed. The Crown gained little in the process. In 1770 the Assembly, because of the extravagance of its own commissioners, placed the small appropriation under the control of the governor and Council. The governor managed frugally and efficiently, but the veto of the loan-office bill put an end to the rapprochement between him and the Assembly. Franklin had to resort to a series of prorogations before he got his way. But the governor, who could suggest to Hillsborough that a loan-office bill would clear the air, or that a suspension of the Assembly's privileges would have the desired disciplinary effect, did not find it too difficult to manipulate the legislature. Aided by the withdrawal of most of the British troops, the Assembly was won over and by 1774 the matter was no longer a significant issue.

Although New Jersey would have been disturbed to hear that its capitulation was taken as a sign of "respect for the supreme Authority of Parliament"—a statement that the astute governor did not publicize—the fact is that the Assembly had been losing slowly but surely in its struggle for control. Sometimes the victory of the king's officers was hollow, it is true, but the trend was unmistakable. It has already been seen that the Assembly never was permitted to issue legal tender; that it came finally to obey the Quartering Act; and that it was virtually defeated in the matter of the civil list. In addition, in 1771 the Assembly lost out on the governor's unwillingness to accept the resignation of John Ogden from the Assembly, and on the question as to whether the provincial agent was under the sole control of the Assembly. Similarly, the Assembly was virtually defeated in the

attempt to remove Stephen Skinner from the post of treasurer, for it took four years, and much public indignation, to force Skinner's resignation. And finally, the Assembly was unsuccessful in attaining regular elections on a three or even a seven-year basis.

Thus the decade after 1763—even though it ended with a lessened interest in imperial and constitutional matters after the repeal of the Townshend Acts—saw little improvement in either the economic situation or the political autonomy of New Jersey. Lord North's Tea Tax of 1773 was consequently enough to reawaken the cry of "Tyranny."

Events now moved more rapidly. Tea Tax led to Tea Party and Tea Party to the Intolerable Acts. The issues were coming to a head and the growing tension and final break between William and Benjamin Franklin would have been a perfect omen of the events unfolding were it not for a reversal in the parent-offspring roles. It was the father who told the son that he was the "thorough courtier [who saw] everything with government eyes."

The heavy-handed treatment of Massachusetts had elicited from Virginia the suggestion of a continental congress. Franklin refused to call a special session of the Assembly, contending that there was no public business which required it. But the governor could not hold back the tide. The Assembly, uninterested, because of a concern with local affairs, in the Virginia suggestion of provincial committees of correspondence in 1773, appointed a standing committee of nine for this purpose in February, 1774. Moreover, public meetings in the eastern counties of the province kept up the agitation for a continental congress. These groups expressed sympathy with Massachusetts, resolved in favor of new non-importation agreements, and, most important, chose county correspondence committees that were to meet at New Brunswick on July 21, 1774.

This congress of committees of correspondence was the second extra-legal provincial meeting. Seventy-two delegates were present, including over half the members of the Assembly, and their resolutions, adopted unanimously, left little doubt as to the position of New Jersey. The congress swore its allegiance to the Crown and renounced intentions of independence; protested the unconstitutionality of parliamentary legislation for, and taxation

of, the colonies; expressed its concern over the Boston Port Bill and appointed a committee to send relief to Boston promptly; favored a continental congress and non-importation agreements; and appointed five delegates to the forthcoming Continental Congress.

Feeling ran high in New Jersey. The county committees of correspondence were active; elections were held to choose local committees to enforce the Association, and a new provincial meeting was provided for. A "tea party" at Greenwich in Cumberland County, and the seizure of a British cargo brought to Elizabethtown, showed that New Jersey was serious.

When the Assembly met early in 1775 it had to choose between the governor's strictures against approving the "late alarming Transactions," and the pleas of the delegates to the Continental Congress that the Assembly approve the work of that body. The latter prevailed, and the Assembly adopted the Association and reappointed the delegates to the Continental Congress in a sort of ratification of the work of the provincial meeting that had been held at New Brunswick.

The news of Lexington and Concord had an electric effect in New Jersey. Committees of Correspondence and town meetings aroused the public to a degree that none of the preceding crises had been able to do. The Association was embraced and enforced with a new vigor, but more important was the fervor with which town after town, county after county, called up militia and set seriously about the business of military training. In Newark there was talk of a willingness "to risk lives and fortunes in support of American liberty," and elsewhere false rumors almost set off the tinder box. On May 2 the provincial Committee of Correspondence called for a provincial congress to meet three weeks later.

Before this congress could meet, the governor called the Assembly to hear his exposition of the new "Resolution for Conciliation" of Lord North, but the Assembly refused to "desert the common cause." Thereafter the story in New Jersey is that of the assumption by extra-legal bodies of the government of the province, and the extinction of the legal authority. The Provincial Congress that met in Trenton that May, although still

pledging allegiance to the king, was to become virtually a revolutionary junta. Its extension of embargoes and its correspondence with other provinces were to be expected. But this meeting proceeded to arrogate unto itself the right to select the delegates to the Continental Congress, and to prepare a form of declaration of obedience which converted the popular Association to a delegation of sovereign powers to the provincial and continental congresses. It went on to require every township to raise militia companies, and to vote a tax of eighty per cent of the provincial tax to defray the costs. Finally the congress chose a provincial committee of correspondence and a "Committee of Safety" which virtually became the executive body of the congress. In August the Provincial Congress expanded its power to call militia and levy taxes, exerting a regimentation far more personal and severe than anything Parliament had exacted.

By the end of 1775 the royal government in New Jersey was a thing of the past. On November 15 the last royal Assembly was called and Franklin made his last attempt to place his province in the Tory fold. He warned the Assembly of the vigorous measures which the king was bound to take if sentiment for "independency" were to continue, and, perhaps to frighten them, asked the Assembly's advice as to whether it was safe for him to remain in the province.

The Assembly itself was tending to be conservative, and seemed about to fall victim to the governor's persuasiveness. Three resolutions of a conciliatory nature were passed. Warnings went up, however, and a visit by John Jay, George Wythe, and John Dickinson from the Continental Congress caused the Assembly to "drop their Design," although the resolutions were not rescinded. The Assembly weakly assured the governor that there was no significant interest in independence.

This was the last of the Assembly. The governor's Council met for the last time on November 30, 1775, and there remained only the governor himself to be disposed of. This was left for Lord Stirling who had set himself the task of rounding up Tories. On January 8, 1776, Stirling's men, suspecting that the governor was about to escape, placed him under guard. The governor was permitted to continue to live in Perth Amboy,

nominally still royal governor. When he attempted to call the Assembly in June, 1776, the Provincial Congress took action, and eventually, with the advice of the Continental Congress, Franklin was sent to Connecticut, where he remained until exchanged, on November 1, 1778. In a final address, written to the Council and Assembly, Franklin wrote that "Republican Tyranny . . . will never suit a people who have once tasted the sweets of British Liberty under a British Constitution," perhaps the most stubborn bit of irony in all the war of words.

The Provincial Congress and the Committee of Safety were thus in control from the beginning of 1776 on. The problems of the militia, of raising revenue, of fixing prices, were now left for the Congress alone, but most important was the growing acceptance of independence as the goal. All signs pointed to it, in both the provincial and continental congresses. Public discussions in January and February advocated it, and Paine's *Common Sense* and a similar pamphlet by Rev. Jacob Green of Morris County were fanning the flames. As early as April 15, the cry was raised in New Jersey calling for the establishment of its own government, and on May 10 the Continental Congress recommended that all the colonies take such a step.

A new Provincial Congress was elected in May, 1776. Its composition left little question that the people had spoken for independence. It was this congress that made the fateful decisions: it arranged for the governor's removal; its appointees to the Continental Congress were instructed (by a vote of 54 to 3) on June 22 to join, if necessary, "in declaring the United States independent of Great Britain"; and it arranged for, and adopted on July 2 a constitution.

The constitution of New Jersey did not cast the die. That document referred to itself as a "Charter" and only suggested that it had "the form of a Constitution." It spoke throughout of the "Colony" of New Jersey, and ended with a statement, not at all to the liking of the extremists in the Continental Congress, that:

> *Provided always,* and it is the true intent and meaning of this Congress, that if a reconciliation between Great Britain and these Colonies should take place, and the latter be taken again under the protection and government of the Crown of Great Britain, this Charter shall be null and void—otherwise to remain firm and inviolable.

The decision was made two days later when the Continental Congress agreed on the Declaration of Independence—signed by, among the others, Abraham Clark, John Hart, Francis Hopkinson, Richard Stockton, and John Witherspoon, the five who had been authorized to vote for the independence of all of the colonies by the same New Jersey congress that refused to take the plunge alone. New Jersey could no longer think of itself as a colony, and on July 18, the day after the Provincial Congress ratified the Declaration, the Congress changed its name to "the Convention of the State of New Jersey." On August 21, the first General Assembly of the State of New Jersey met, and ten days later William Livingston was chosen governor.

The basic provisions of the constitution were simple enough. A bicameral legislature, consisting of a Legislative Council and a General Assembly, was provided for, and they jointly were to select the governor and the judiciary. Both houses of the legislature were to be elected by residents with £50 of property, the former on the basis of equal representation for each county, and the latter on the basis of population.

The power of the legislature was exceedingly broad. The legislators swore that they would not agree to any law injurious to the welfare of the colony or repealing the right of trial by jury and religious liberty or changing the provisions for annual elections. Otherwise there were no restrictions, and since no provision was made for amendment, the assumption prevailed that the legislature was omnipotent in the manner of the British Parliament.

The power of the legislature went beyond that of lawmaking. Not only the governor and the judiciary were chosen by joint session but the court clerks, the attorney general, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer were to be chosen the same way. Impeachment by the Assembly and trial by the Council for all officers (but the governor—he was subject to annual election) were provided. Moreover, the Council, continuing provincial practices, constituted with the governor the Court of Appeals, and any three of the Council were to be a privy council. Finally, the Council assumed a new function, when it (again with the governor) became the board of pardons.

The governor was to have "the supreme executive power," but no executive power was provided for him except that he was to "act as captain-general and commander in chief of all the militia." His power over legislation was restricted to his presidency of the Council in which he was given a casting vote. His office was in the main judicial, for along with the judicial and pardoning powers he exercised with the Council, he was also chancellor and surrogate-general of the state.

In the constitution there was the realization of everything for which the Assembly had struggled during the whole period of royal domination. The Assembly had wanted regular elections and would have settled for triennial and septennial election; now there were to be annual elections. The Assembly had wanted control of the purse; now the Council could not "prepare or alter any money bill." The governor had accomplished much by proroguing the Assembly; now the Assembly was to "act upon their own adjournments," and only the speaker could call it into special session. The Assembly had fought to control the judiciary; that it now accomplished as to appointment, salary, and the setting of tenure (good behavior tenures had been contended for when the king appointed the judges at royal pleasure and placed them on civil lists). The aristocratic Council, appointed by the royal governor, was now elective. And, especially, the governor and Crown had exercised a powerful veto, had the power of appointment and the power of calling or suspending the Assembly; the new governor had none of these powers.

It is also of interest that this document did not establish a radically democratic political structure. The Council was not elected on the basis of population; the governor was indirectly elected; the suffrage requirement of property valued at £50 was retained (made rather meaningless by war-time inflation); and qualifications for Council members and Assemblymen included ownership of at least £1,000 and £500 respectively. (By statute the last provision was soon changed to require Assemblymen to be freeholders as well.) All this was not surprising since the lowest classes on the economic scale exercised almost no voice in political affairs. The Whig leaders included three former members of the royal Council and a good number of lesser gov-

ernment officials, merchants, ironmasters, young lawyers, and non-Anglican clergymen. It is true that debtors and anti-Proprietary settlers rallied to the cause of revolution, but theirs was not the role of leadership. Yet it is nevertheless true that a revolution had taken place. Annual elections and legislative supremacy meant that the voice of the electorate was now dominant and court cliques were a thing of the past.

The legislature of the new state of New Jersey needed to arrange for the ordinary operation of government; a system of courts, and election machinery, for example, were quickly provided. But the republic thus begun soon found itself the "Cockpit of the Revolution," and it was soon necessary to create a temporary "Council of Safety" composed of twelve men presided over by the governor. This Council of Safety, which was in existence from March, 1777, to October, 1778, was an extraordinary body with extraordinary powers over the persons of the inhabitants of the state. Particularly directed at Loyalists, but with power over all, this Council was perhaps most remarkable for the fact that there was no great abuse of power and that it was allowed to come to an end when conditions warranted. Perhaps here is a characteristic of the American Revolution that distinguishes it from other revolutions: the failure of revolutionary authority to wield power for its own sake or to seek to perpetuate itself in power. One can hardly discount the role of patriotism and the ideals of political responsibility in this situation.

This is not to say that New Jersey politics was without blemish. Election irregularies and scandals, and gross corruption in the handling of confiscated estates, were common enough during the Revolution. Loyalist and British raids and the activity of the self-appointed "retaliators" kept the state in as much torment as the actual warfare. Although there was an absence of factional strife—excepting of course the disaffection of the Loyalists and the disinterest of the Quakers—there was a considerable bickering behind the scenes. The rather personal antagonism between Governor Livingston and Abraham Clark was a case in point.

It is possible to separate three major political problems faced by New Jersey during the Revolution from the general thread of

war activity: the problem of Tory property; the problem of finance; and the problem of inter-colonial relations.

The personal estates of those who had joined the British were made subject to forfeiture on August 1, 1777. Later procedures arranged for county commissioners who managed such property, and in December, 1778, the sale of the estates of convicted Tories was provided for. Hundreds of parcels of land were sold at public sales in the next two and a half years, involving a great deal of questionable manipulation. The state realized about £1,390,000 in the process, but in depreciated continental currency that meant so very little that in June, 1781, sales were suspended.

It is astonishing that the new state took no great advantage of its power to issue paper money. Perhaps it was because the activity of the Continental Congress was inflationary enough, but for the most part the activity of New Jersey during the Revolution tended to be deflationary rather than the opposite. Before the end of 1776, £100,000 of loan-office money which had been allowed by the British government had been put into circulation. An additional £75,000 of loan-office bills and bills of credit, issued in 1777, was the total amount of paper money put into circulation up to 1780. In 1779, the outstanding bills of credit were called in, the loan-office bills were being retired, and New Jersey made continental bills legal tender. But the tremendous inflation of continental currency made even more drastic measures necessary. In line with a new plan of Congress, which was essentially the calling in of continentals for a "new emission" at the rate of twenty to one, New Jersey eventually issued $291,000 of new money. This replaced some $7,000,000 of continental currency.

The new emission too began to depreciate rapidly, ranging from five-to-one in 1781, to two-and-a-half-to-one in 1783, in relation to specie. (Continental currency, by proclamation, went to 175-to-1 in 1781.) New Jersey therefore continued to withdraw its bills. In 1783 only $170,000 (some estimates are as low as $115,000) of the new bills and about £28,000 of loan-office money were in circulation. The war ended with money scarce, for even the supply of specie that had filtered in from trade with the French and with the enemy, was gone.

The wartime economy also brought the state a tax burden unknown before. In the period before the war, taxes on the whole were not heavy. Expenses of government did not go over £3,000 a year, and the costs of redeeming paper money were usually £12,500 to £15,000. When war came, no special war taxes were levied, except for £10,000 in 1775, before 1778. Taxes thereafter were tied to the redemption of paper money and payment of debts, and became increasingly heavy. Down to 1779, taxes levied amounted to less than $270,000 in continental currency; between 1781 and 1784 there was collected over $1,375,000, well over half in specie. Significant too, is the fact that it became necessary to tax personal property as well as real estate, including, for example, money out at interest. There resulted a very broadened tax base. Nevertheless the burden of taxes continued to fall upon the farmer, which, with the scarcity of money, helped to create a new clamor for paper money.

The third problem that was to trouble the state before peace came, involved the continental confederation. By and large there was general agreement on the position of the state. In 1778 a joint legislative committee sent a "Representation to Congress" concerning the proposed Articles of Confederation. New Jersey wanted Congress to have power over trade and to levy duties, and wanted the Crown lands disposed of for the benefit of the United States and the state boundaries definitely set. Concerned over dominance by the large states, New Jersey asked that delegates to Congress be required to swear not to assent to anything that might do violence to the Confederation; that quotas of men and money be adjusted at five-year intervals; and that a three-fourths vote of Congress be required on major issues. Congress paid no heed to this representation, and New Jersey remained one of the states (with Maryland and Georgia) that failed to ratify the Articles. Pressure was exerted upon the Assembly and on Governor Livingston, the latter urged by the president of Congress. Neither the Assembly nor the governor was impressed by such pleas, but finally, deciding not to be the obstacle, New Jersey authorized the ratification of the Articles on November 20, 1778.

The conclusion of the Revolution put an end to none of these

problems. On the contrary, each of the problems continued, not only unabated but with complicating ramifications.

The sale of Tory estates had ceased in 1781 but the problem was brought up again with the arrival of peace. In 1783, legislation again provided for the sale of confiscated property yet unsold, and extensive tracts were put on the market. Again fraud and corruption entered into the picture and sales were halted in August, 1784. Two years later they were resumed and continued for years thereafter.

In the ten years after 1778, New Jersey had confiscated and sold the estates of five hundred active Loyalists. Yet it is interesting to note that with the return of peace, the returning Loyalists and many who had not fled, became increasingly active in political affairs. Despite considerable tension which resulted, by 1788 the sentiment had changed sufficiently to permit the repeal of the oath of abjuration and of the office-holding limitations it entailed.

A new ramification of the financial problems that came with the end of the war was the question of meeting the demands of public creditors. The United States (in 1790) owed $2,431,845 to New Jersey citizens ($1,121,360 continental loan office notes; $917,968 liquidated quartermasters' and commissioners' certificates, and $392,517 soldiers' final settlement notes), over one-eleventh of the total domestic debt. New Jersey owed its citizens $788,680, a very small state debt.

With the failure of Congress to meet its obligations, New Jersey undertook to satisfy the obligations of the United States to the citizens of New Jersey. Initially at the request of Congress, New Jersey voted to levy a tax from which $56,000 was to go to the Continental Loan Office for New Jersey for discharging interest and other obligations to the citizens of the state. Later it was decided that this sum was not to be handed over to the loan office, but was to be paid out directly by the state treasurer.

A variation of the same plan was followed thereafter. Congress in 1783 had requested that New Jersey provide $83,358 for twenty-five years to help meet continental obligations. New Jersey did provide for a tax of that amount, but also provided for the issuance of a like amount of "revenue money." This

was to be paid out to New Jersey creditors of the United States (who swore that the certificates involved had been owned by an inhabitant of the state on May 1, 1783), and this money was to be receivable for the tax. The payments, however, were to be paid out by the state treasurer, and again no money was to go to the continental treasurer.

Thus the break with the continental treasury was continued, and in December, 1784, the state treasurer was ordered not to turn over any money to the United States until a continental tariff had been passed and all the states had accepted the twenty-five-year tax plan. New Jersey justified this stand with the argument that it was taking care of continental creditors at considerable expense to itself, but, as will later be noted, New Jersey was at the same time exerting pressure for a continental tariff. At least two other requisitions by the Congress were also refused, and the only significant change in New Jersey's procedure was that of making the "revenue money" legal tender in 1786. Indeed, New Jersey continued to pay its citizens directly even after Congress' threat in 1785 that no state would receive credit for any such interest payments. It is probably true that Jersey's creditors of the United States fared better than such creditors did elsewhere.

The state debt presented a vexing problem that was not dealt with readily. Studies and reports by legislative groups in 1786 and 1787 resulted only in the introduction of a bill to raise £12,500 to service the state debt. At last, and at least, the state creditors were to receive interest on their securities.

The public creditor thus did not do too badly in New Jersey, and speculators and investors did rather well. Most of these securities were held by northern Jerseymen, and the legislators from West Jersey were ordinarily opposed to any type of funding or payment of the debt. It was probably in the hope of providing a central government capable of meeting its own obligtaions that West Jersey was later ardently to favor the Constitution of the United States.

By far the major controversy of the post-war period was that over paper money. New Jersey after the Revolution can be described in the same terms as the New Jersey after the French

and Indian War: a depression in the offing, trade stagnating, agrarians discontented, debtors clamoring for assistance, rioting, controversies raging over land titles, and the government pursuing a deflationary monetary policy. Indeed, in 1783 there was one additional factor which was, in comparison, scarcely significant two decades earlier: taxes.

The Assembly was not adverse to heeding the appeals of the debtors. Stay-laws, bankruptcy acts, and laws simplifying legal procedures were passed for their benefit between 1781 and 1784. Other laws in the same period tried several devices to force creditors who refused paper money to accept state securities instead, but the most stringent of these laws had to be repealed in 1784 under creditor pressure. The creditors were badly frightened in these proceedings; the debtors hardly satisfied.

The real quarrel came over paper money and started in the summer of 1784. Four counties, and later three more, petitioned for a loan currency. A paper-money bill failed of passage and the storm broke. Controversy and debate raged in the legislature and in the press. Governor Livingston and Abraham Clark had now found a real issue, and the latter became the leader of the paper money faction. In February, 1786, the legislature received at least 140 petitions carrying over ten thousand signatures. These were two-to-one in favor of some kind of paper money. Defeat for the forces of inflation came in the Council, but a special session in May, 1786, finally enacted a loan-office act.

This act followed its colonial prototypes. It provided for the issuance of £100,000 in bills, fully legal tender, that were to be lent on double-security mortgages in amounts under £100. Loan offices began operation late in 1786 in several of the counties and dealt with hundreds of applicants. Though obviously the luckless mechanic or tenant was not directly affected by the act, the agitation for paper money subsided in the state thereafter.

Though it met the opposition of the conservative element afraid of "democratical license," the loan-office bill was hardly a radical measure. Indeed, it is a valid generalization, even considering the few concessions made to debtors, that men of property could scarcely complain of their treatment in New Jersey, both as public and as private creditors.

The final important problem confronting New Jersey in the

post-revolutionary years was its relations with the Confederation. These involved especially the congressional requisitions which after 1785 New Jersey refused to meet, but commercial interests as well as financial considerations were involved.

Post-war New Jersey mercantile interests had been frustrated in their hopes of attracting foreign trade directly into New Jersey. Finding that free trade did not accomplish this, they hoped that an impost on foreign goods brought in from Philadelphia and New York would. An excise tax passed in 1787, which placed a five-per-cent tax on a few items of foreign manufacture, was as close as they came to such an impost, but it met with considerable opposition and was in effect for only four months. In 1784 the merchants obtained a law creating free ports at Perth Amboy and Burlington, but since they did not succeed in getting tariffs on goods coming into other ports or from other states, the "free" character of the ports was mere legalism.

The failure of New Jersey to develop commerce, coupled with action taken by Pennsylvania and New York restricting the importation of its merchandise into these states, convinced New Jersey that its only salvation (and the solution of the public credit problem) lay with the Confederation.

A major item in the "representation" which New Jersey had sent to Congress in 1778 when the Articles of Confederation were under consideration was that Congress be given the sole power of regulating trade and that customs duties be the chief source of revenue for the United States. As has been seen, this had no immediate effect on the Articles. In 1781, Congress finally recommended that the states grant it power to levy a tariff. New Jersey readily complied, but the refusal of Rhode Island to accede closed the matter. Two years later a similar attempt was made, but at the beginning of 1786 two states had already rejected the proposal and three had taken no action.

It was in this period, as has been noted, that New Jersey refused the requisition which Congress requested on September 27, 1785. When New Jersey insisted upon continuing the policy of non-contribution it had followed since late in 1783, it created a crisis in the affairs of the Confederation. Abraham Clark, champion of the New Jersey position, pointed out the superiority of New Jersey's financial methods to those of Congress, and drove

home the contention that only when Congress controlled commerce and derived its income from import duties, would the problem be solved.

New Jersey maintained its position, even in the face of the contentions of some that New Jersey would receive more in the new indents which Congress would issue than it would pay to the requisition. The shock of New Jersey's refusal created consternation. Reminiscent of a similar delegation sent by the Continental Congress in 1775, Congress sent Charles Pinckney, Nathaniel Gorham, and William Grayson to the New Jersey legislature. Pinckney made the principal address, but despite a conciliatory resolution, the state remained adamant. Thus New Jersey, as James Madison noted, precipitated a crisis that pointed up the impotency of the Confederation. If union was to be preserved, steps had to be taken promptly.

The necessary step was taken by Virginia, when it invited New Jersey, among others, to send representatives to Annapolis to discuss the extension of Congress' powers over trade. New Jersey could hardly reject this invitation, and was quick to accept. Significantly, the delegation of Abraham Clark, William C. Houston, and James Schureman was authorized to consider not only the question of trade but also *"other important Matters . . .* necessary to their [the United States'] common Interest and permanent Harmony."

From "other important Matters" developed the recommendation of the Annapolis group to their legislatures, that a second convention be called "extending the powers of their deputies to other objects than those of Commerce." Thus it was the "New Jersey Idea" that led to the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

The "New Jersey Idea," however, was not simply the result of the commercial and financial considerations of the moment. Actually, problems of twenty years were yet to be solved, and New Jersey, as it had looked to the Revolution for their solution, now looked to a new federation.

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Early Paper Making in Trenton

Some Account of the Potts & Reynolds Mill 1777-1785

GEORGE C. ROCKEFELLER

One of the few books published in New Jersey during the eighteenth century whose paper shows a watermark is Isaac Collins' edition of *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* by Richard Price, printed at Trenton in 1785. The watermark is "POTTS & REYNOLDS," in large outlined capitals. Investigation has revealed that this paper was manufactured in a mill established by Stacy Potts, a well-known resident of Trenton, who engaged in several business enterprises during the Revolutionary War.

There were a few paper mills scattered throughout the colonies prior to the Revolutionary War. William Bradford had established one in Elizabethtown as early as 1728[1] and it is said that Doctor Daniel W. Coxe built a paper mill in Trenton about the year 1756.[2] However, until the war, when supplies were cut off from England, most printers preferred the use of imported paper to that of American manufacture. The lack of a supply of this imported paper furnished the necessary impetus for the establishment of local paper mills in this and other states.

In June, 1776, John Reynolds and George Riche, paper makers of Germantown, Pennsylvania, petitioned the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, setting forth their design to carry on their trade in this colony, and praying that the Congress would en-

THE AUTHOR has long pursued as an avocation the study of eighteenth-century New Jersey printing and is a collector of New Jersey imprints of that period. This article results from an excursion into the related field of paper manufacture. His review of Dard Hunter's *Papermaking in Pioneer America* appeared in the last PROCEEDINGS.

Mr. Rockefeller wishes to espress his thanks to Mr. Howard L. Hughes, librarian of the Trenton Free Public Library, and Mr. Robert H. Haynes, of the Harvard College Library, for calling to his attention pertinent materials in their respective collections.

[1]Edwin F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey* (New York, 1868), p. 324.
[2]John O. Raum, *History of the City of Trenton, New Jersey* (Trenton, 1871), p. 235.

courage the same.[3] Nothing came of this petition and the matter was evidently dropped.

In November, 1777, one William Shaffer, of Middlesex County, presented a petition to the General Assembly to exempt two men employed in his paper mill from service in the militia. He set forth that he was the proprietor of the *only paper mill* in the state and "that he had contracted with the printer to furnish a quantity of paper for printing the Laws of this State."[4] The petition was acted upon favorably and, when a bill was presented, it was passed and became law in December.[5]

Stacy Potts, a well-to-do Quaker living in Trenton, realized the need for paper and he determined to satisfy that need at a profit to himself. Presenting his petition to the General Assembly in November, 1777, five days after that of William Shaffer, he prayed "an exemption of workmen necessary to be employed at a Paper-Mill erecting by him in this State."[6] The petition was denied,[7] probably because of the pending bill in favor of Shaffer or because of Potts' recent antipathy toward the oath of allegiance.[8]

Meanwhile Isaac Collins, the state printer, had increasing difficulty in securing a supply of paper. In March of the following year he petitioned both the Assembly[9] and Council in favor of Stacy Potts, declaring that paper,

> for the important Purposes of Schools, for printing the Laws and Votes, the *New-Jersey Gazette,* and other publick Business, is become very scarce,

[3] *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the Convention of New Jersey, Begun at Burlington, June 1776* (Burlington, 1776), pp. 22, 37.

[4] *Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey,* second session, 1777-78, p. 22.

[5] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey,* second session, first sitting, 1777, p. 12.

[6] *Votes and Proceedings,* second session, 1777-78, p. 27.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 30.

[8] Potts is probably best known as the owner of the house on King Street (now Warren Street) used by Colonel Rall, the Hessian commander, as his headquarters prior to the battle of Trenton. In 1777, Potts, like many Quakers, refused the oath of allegiance to the new government and was fined. Although his remonstrance to the legislature was unsuccessful, he continued in possession of his property and apparently did not lose the confidence of his neighbors. *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* New Series, LII (1934), 90; *Votes and Proceedings,* second session, 1777-78, pp. 27, 30; Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections of . . . New Jersey* (New Edition, Newark, 1855), p. 298.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 78.

dear and difficult to be had; and that there is Reason to fear, without some publick Encouragement is given for manufacturing it, in a short Time a sufficient Quantity cannot be procured at any Rate—That the Paper-Maker at Spotswood [William Shaffer] has not supplied the Petitioner agreeable to his Expectation, and for what little he is capable of furnishing, he charges extravagant Prices—That Stacy Potts is desirous, and has absolutely agreed to complete his Paper-Mill with all possible Expedition, and to use his utmost Endeavours for carrying on the Business of Paper-Making, as extensively as may be, provided the Legislature will pass an Act to exempt him and a Number of Hands, not exceeding Five, from actual Service in the Militia, agreeable to his Memorial, preferred at the last Sitting of General Assembly; and praying that a Law may be passed in Behalf of the said Stacy Potts, for the valuable Purposes aforesaid.[10]

Isaac Collins was also a Quaker and was related to Stacy Potts by marriage.[11] In December, 1777, he had established at Burlington the first newspaper to be printed in this state and, about the first of March following, moved his press to Trenton.[12] In addition to his newspaper, Collins printed the official *Acts* and *Proceedings* of the legislature as well as a varied list of books, pamphlets, and almanacs.

In April, Potts had a bill presented to the Legislative Council entitled, "An Act for exempting five Men to be employed at the Paper-Mill belonging to Stacy Potts at Trenton, in the County of Hunterdon."[13] Its preamble states:

Whereas Stacy Potts by his Petition hath set forth that he is desirous of carrying on the Business of Paper Making, but that the Workmen which will be necessarily employed at his Paper Mill, being Objects of the Militia Law will in all probability be so frequently called away, that he will thereby be disabled from carrying on the said business to any Effects, and from furnishing the Publick with the necessary Article of Paper and hath therefore prayed that a Law may be passed to exempt five men to be employed in the said Paper Mill, from the duties and services enjoined by the Militia Law.[14]

[10]*Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative-Council of the State of New Jersey*, second session, 1777-78, p. 38.

[11]Collins' wife, Rachel Budd, was a cousin of Sarah Beakes Potts, Stacy Potts' mother, both being descendants of Mahlon Stacy. *Reminiscences of Isaac and Rachael Budd Collins* (Philadelphia, 1893), pp. 149-50.

[12]Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947), I, 493, 519.

[13]Trenton at this time was in Hunterdon County, Mercer County not being set up until 1838.

[14]The original bill, in manuscript, is in the Trenton Public Library.

The Council passed the bill and sent it to the General Assembly.[15] When it finally came to be voted upon in June, 1778, the result was negative, in spite of Collins' petition.[16] The failure of the bill to become law was, however, remedied by a bill passed by the General Assembly the next day, "An Act for encouraging the manufacture of paper in the State of New Jersey." This act provided, "That at each and every Mill or Works, erected or to be erected and carried on in this State, for the Purpose of manufacturing Paper, there be exempted, from actual Service in the Militia, four Men besides the Owner or Occupier; which Exempts shall be employed only and solely at such Mill or Works, under the Regulations and Restrictions herein expressed."[17] The bill was subsequently passed in Council and became law on June 20, 1778.[18]

Meanwhile, although the petition of Reynolds and Riche in 1776 had failed to gain them the necessary legislative sanction to erect a paper mill, Reynolds, at least, had located in Trenton. The record of conveyances shows that John Reynolds, paper maker of Trenton, in June, 1778, bought a lot on the east side of King Street,[19] and a month later he was advertising West India cotton for sale.[20]

We now have three events or circumstances which made it possible for Stacy Potts to proceed with the establishment of a paper mill: (1) the location in Trenton of Isaac Collins' press, (2) passage of an act exempting paper mill employees from militia service, and (3) the availability of an experienced paper maker. Potts formed a partnership with Reynolds and by December, 1778, their plans had progressed far enough to advertise for rags:

To the Publick

The Paper-Mill at Trenton being now nearly compleated, the subscribers think it necessary to inform the inhabitants of New Jersey thereof, that they may save their rags for the purpose of making PAPER. The very great scarcity of that useful article must point out to every considerate

[15] *Journal of Proceedings of the Legislative-Council*, second session, 1777-78, p. 59.
[16] *Votes and Proceedings*, second session, 1777-78, p. 153.
[17] *Acts*, second session, third sitting, 1778, p. 88.
[18] *Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative-Council*, second session, 1777-78, p. 84.
[19] *New Jersey Archives*, Second Series, IV, 50, *note*.
[20] *New Jersey Gazette*, Trenton, August 5, 1778.

person the necessity of saving every shred of linen and cotton. They would particularly address themselves to the good women of this and the neighbouring State, but they are sensible that their prudence will dictate to them so good a measure.

The highest price will be given for any quantity delivered at their respective dwelling houses, or at the paper mill; and also by any of the following persons, viz. William Calvert, in Mount-Holly; Edward Brooks, jun, or Thomas Watson, jun, in Bordentown; John Denton, in Princeton; and Richard Leedom, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania.

Stacy Potts,
John Reynolds.[21]

In the *Gazette* for January 20, 1779, they advertised again in the same vein, promising "one shilling per pound for all clean linen rags"; moreover,

They would offer to the consideration of those mothers who have children going to school, the present great scarcity of that useful article, without which their going to school would avail them but little; which the subscribers hope to have it in their power to remedy shortly.

At this time, when the mill was being established, both partners continued to be engaged in the sale of various items of merchandise. In November, 1778, Potts advertised salt, in December Reynolds advertised cotton and a "riding-chair with good harness," in January, 1779, he again advertised cotton, and in February Potts was advertising leather.[22]

Although no further connection of Reynolds with the paper mill appears after January, 1779, he continued to reside in Trenton at least until July, 1780, as in that month he advertises his horse stolen.[23] A John Reynolds of Hunterdon County is listed as a private in the New Jersey militia but William Nelson expresses the opinion that this is not at all likely to be Reynolds the paper maker.[24]

It seems that the paper mill was not put into operation in 1779, as we find another petition of Stacy Potts to the legislature, dated March of the following year, in which the mill is described as "nearly completed." The petition not only gives an explanation

[21]*Ibid.*, December 23, 1778.

[22]*Ibid.*, November 25, December 31, 1778, January 6, February 3, 1779.

[23]*New Jersey Archives*, Second Series, IV, 511.

[24]William S. Stryker, *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, 1872), p. 732; *New Jersey Archives*, Second Series, IV, 50.

for the delay in operating the mill but also gives its location:

To the Legislative Council and general assembly of the State of New Jersey.

The Petition of Stacy Potts respectfully sheweth, That with much Expense and Labour, at a time of Danger and Difficulty, he has erected a Paper Mill, with the pleasing hope of relieving the State from the great want of that necessary Article Paper, and advancing his own interest at the same time, without injuring any individual; and by long Patience, Fateague and Assiduety has nearly compleated that useful Manufactory; when an inclination to oppose so valuable an Improvement appears in Robert Waln the Proprietor of the Grist Mill in Trenton.

Wherefore, in order to secure the Benefit of those Works, both to himself and the Publick in general Your Petitioner humbly requests that a Law may be passed to enable him to join a small Dam to the Lands of the said Robert Waln, on the opposite side of Assanpink Creek below the Grist Mill aforesaid, to turn the Waters of the said Creek as it now runs to the Paper Mill aforesaid, provided the said Dam shall not be raised so high as to Backwater or do any possible damage to the Grist Mill aforesaid.[25]

This petition was presented to the Council on March 9, 1780, and that body gave leave "to the said Petitioner to bring in a Bill at the next Sitting of the Legislature upon his serving Robert Waln with a copy of the order; and also publishing the same in the *New Jersey Gazette*."[26]

In accordance with this order, Potts advertised his petition in the *Gazette* during March and April.[27] When the legislature met again in May his bill was presented, passed, and sent to the General Assembly for their concurrence.[28] There it never came to a vote[29] and we do not know how Potts settled his difficulties with Waln.

The first evidence we have of the paper mill in operation is contained in an advertisement in the *New Jersey Gazette* of March 28, 1781: "Printing Paper, of different Size and Quality By the Ream or Hundred Reams, Bookbinders and Bonnet Pastboards, Wrapping Paper, &c. Made and to be Sold or Ex-

[25] From the original manuscript, in the Trenton Public Library.

[26] *Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative-Council,* fourth session, 1780, pp. 59-60.

[27] *New Jersey Gazette,* March 29, April 12 and 19, 1780.

[28] *Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative-Council,* fourth session, 1780, pp. 81, 83, 84.

[29] *Votes and Proceedings,* fourth session, 1780, p. 203.

changed for Rags, by Stacy Potts, in Trenton." This advertisement was repeated through the issue of August 8, and again appeared September 12, 1781.

During the year 1782 advertisements offering to purchase rags appeared in the *Gazette*.[30] These advertisements do not specifically mention Stacy Potts but there is little doubt that "the paper-works in Trenton" is the mill established by Potts.

Prior to the British occupation of Trenton in 1776, one of Stacy Potts' neighbors, John Fitch, best known for his experiments in steam navigation, had a shop on King Street where he followed the trade of silversmith. His shop was wrecked when the British invaded the town and Fitch moved to Pennsylvania.[31] In 1783 he solicited funds to make an exploratory trip into the Northwest Territory and Potts contributed £20.[32] Upon his return, Fitch organized a party to travel west with the idea of establishing a claim to lands north of the Ohio River and again Potts made a contribution toward the expenses.[33] Judging by an advertisement which Potts inserted in the *Gazette* in April, 1785,[34] he had made the decision to "remove and settle within the territory northwestward of the great river Ohio." This advertisement is interesting, as it reveals to us how successful Stacy Potts had been in building an estate. He advertised that he would sell at public vendue the following pieces of property: the large commodious house occupied by Peter Howell, innkeeper; a good paper mill, leased for £100 per annum; a tanyard, with every necessity for tanning 1500 hides per year, likewise leased for £100; a carriage maker's shop; a brickyard; a half interest in a steel furnace; five separate houses; and numerous lots in and about Trenton, two of which were "fronting the main street."

Fitch, who had combined his talents as a surveyor and engraver in making a map of the territory which he had visited, wrote to Potts from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in May, 1785, stating that the map was so far formed that he "shall want paper for it

[30]*New Jersey Gazette*, July 3, 17, and October 30, 1782.

[31]Carl M. Williams, *Silversmiths of New Jersey, 1700-1825* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 134.

[32]Thomas Boyd, *Poor John Fitch, Inventor of the Steamboat* (New York, 1935), p. 114.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 121.

[34]*New Jersey Gazette*, April 18, 1785.

thirty inches by twenty-three."[35] The map, entitled, "Map of the Northwest Parts of the United States of America," engraved and printed by Fitch,[36] was given notice in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of June 30, 1785, and advertised for sale in the *New Jersey Gazette* in August, 1785.[37] It was not, however, printed on paper from the Potts mill.[38]

The *Gazette* does not inform us of the results of the sale of Potts' properties, but from advertisements in subsequent issues we learn that the tanyard was sold[39] and from a lease, dated December, 1785, recently located in the Trenton Public Library, we learn that the paper mill was not sold:

This Indenture made the fifteenth Day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty five by and between Stacy Potts of Trenton in the County of Hunterdon and State of New Jersey, Tanner, of the one part and John Bowers and Frederick Long both of Trenton aforesaid Papermakers, of the other part; Witnesseth that the said Stacy Potts for and in consideration of the Rents, Covenants and agreements herein referred to and contained, to be paid and performed by the said John Bowers and Frederick Long or either of them, their Heirs or Assigns, hath granted and to their use hath Lett his Paper Mill in Trenton with its appurtenances including two large close stoves, one Copper for Boiling Size, one pair of large Scales and Beam, three fifty six, one twenty eight, one fourteen, one seven, one four, one two & a one Pound Weight, also one pair of Demy, one pair of double Cap, one pair of double Law, one pair of single Law, and one pair of single Cap moulds with the felts &c. and also a piece of Ground on the Eastwardly side of the Road to the Paper Mill as marked out and agreed on, To have and to hold the said Paper Mill and appurtenances from the Day of the date hereof with . . . them the said John Bowers and Frederick Long or either of them for and during the full end and term of one Year; and the said John Bowers and Frederick Long for themselves their Heirs & Assigns doth Covenant and agree to and with the said Stacy Potts his Heirs & Assigns by these presents that they or either of them will pay or cause to be paid unto the said Stacy Potts, his Heirs or Assigns, the full sum of one hundred Pounds for the Rent of the premises during the said term of one year to be paid in good salable Paper Pastboards & at their com-

[35]John Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, N.J.* (New York, 1859), p. 254.

[36]P. Lee Phillips, *The Rare Map of the Northwest, 1785, by John Fitch* (Washington, 1916).

[37]*New Jersey Gazette,* August 1, 1785.

[38]Copy at Harvard College Library is on paper having the watermark of J. Whatman.

[39]*New Jersey Gazette,* September 12, 1785, contains advertisement of tan yard "formerly property of Stacy Potts," for rent.

mon wholesail prices either weekly, monthly or not to exceed Quarterly payments during the said term and at the expiration thereof that they will deliver up the said Paper Mill with all and every of the appurtenances unto him the said Stacy Potts, his Heirs or Assigns, in good order and repair; But if said Paper Mill should require a new Water or Cog Wheel or any such large repair occasioned by common use or unavoidable accident during the said time then it shall be done by the said Stacy Potts or at his expense any thing herein contained to the contrary not withstanding.

John Bowers
Frederick Long.

We do not know whether or not this lease is a renewal of the lease in effect in April, 1785, which Potts mentioned in his advertisement. If the former lease was on an annual basis, as is the one just quoted, it would have run from December, 1794, after which date Stacy Potts had no part in the operation of the mill. Potts' decision to settle in the Northwest Territory was evidently short-lived, as in 1806 he was elected mayor of Trenton.

The fact that Isaac Collins used paper watermarked *Potts & Reynolds* in May, 1785, when he printed Price's *Observations* may be easily accounted for. He may have purchased the paper at some time before the mill was leased and had a supply on hand or the lessees may have been using the moulds which were employed formerly by Stacy Potts and John Reynolds.

The last notice of the mill found in the *Gazette* appeared in April, 1786, when the lessees, Bowers and Long, advertise "The highest price given for Linen Rags delivered at the paper-mill."[40]

[40]*New Jersey Gazette*, April 3, 10, and 17, 1786.

One of the watermarks used by the Potts & Reynolds mill.

And We Replied

ELMER T. HUTCHINSON

Like his contribution which appeared under the same title in our previous January issue, the following is Mr. Hutchinson's yearly review of his experiences as the Society's corresponding secretary. The statistical details will be published separately, along with reports of the other officers and committees presented at the annual meeting on October 29, 1952.

With few exceptions, there is little or nothing contained in genealogical inquiries that is of interest to others than the person involved, yet a strange similarity pervades the bulk of such communications. This is the ill-concealed pride and lofty opinion with which the correspondent describes his ancestors. If his forebears were participants in the American Revolution, rarely did they serve as privates. In some instances it is alleged their profound advice was sought by Washington himself. Members of later generations were almost always outstanding citizens noted for their learning, attainments, public importance, and sterling character, even the dirt farmer being elevated to the status of "a patron of husbandry." Never a sable sheep in the flock or a skeleton in the cupboard.

As Abraham Lincoln is alleged to have said respecting ancestor-worship: "The man who has nothing to boast about but his illustrious ancestors is like a potato plant—the only good thing belonging to him is under ground."

An exception to the foregoing observation recently presented itself. A querist who at the outset confessed her inexperience in the field of genealogical research sought our advice on locating the burial place of an ancestor. Although he died in his native village, his place of interment was not marked by a tombstone nor was his death recorded in the sexton's book. Our correspondent conceded the possibility of his having been denied burial in consecrated ground because of chronic addiction to liquor, which resulted in his being expelled from church membership. In replying, we had no alternative but to admit our inability to offer constructive suggestions.

This imbibing ancestor's fate may have been similar to that of the town drunkard of whom the following story has been told. A middle-aged man with nostalgic yearnings visited the village of his childhood where he sought its oldest resident, hoping thereby to learn what had become of his former friends and neighbors. After explaining his mission, the visitor learned that some had moved away, but that most of them had died and were buried on the hill. To his inquiry concerning the town drunkard, the old man replied merely, "He died." "And was buried on the hill?" asked the visitor. "Oh no," replied the old man, "he wasn't buried; what little was left of him was poured back into the demijohn."

A correspondent who mentioned having read some of the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage's lectures had noted a passing reference to his having been a native of New Jersey and asked whether we could inform him of his place of birth, parents' names, what charges he had occupied before becoming pastor of the Brooklyn Tabernacle, and the titles of some of his literary works. Thomas DeWitt Talmage, D.D., who became renowned as a preacher and lecturer, was the youngest son of David T. and Catharine (Van Nest) Talmage, and was born January 7, 1832, on a farm located east of Somerville on the road leading to Bound Brook. He was graduated in 1853 from the University of New York and from New Brunswick Theological Seminary in 1856. His D.D. degree was awarded him in 1884 by the University of Pennsylvania. He served as pastor of the following churches: Belleville, N.J., 1856-59; Syracuse, N.Y., 1859-62; Philadelphia, Pa., 1862-69; Central Presbyterian, Brooklyn, N.Y. (from 1870 "the Tabernacle"), 1869-94; First Presbyterian, Washington, D.C., 1894-1902. He was editor of the *Christian Herald* 1890-1902. His sermons were published weekly for thirty years and were translated into many languages. Among his better-known works are *Crumbs Swept Up, Abominations of Modern Society, Around the Tea Table,* and *Every Day Religion.* He died in Washington, D.C., April 12, 1902.

A writer informed us she recalled having heard that her grandfather, who lived in Uniontown, Pa., invariably referred to Jerseymen as "foreigners," and asked whether such designation was

original with him or was in common usage a hundred or so years ago. That opprobrious appellation was not original, but in 1817 or shortly thereafter, came into general use among several of the Eastern states, especially in Pennsylvania. Such terms as "foreigners," "Spaniards," and "royalists" were frequently in use long after their origin had been forgotten; likewise New Jersey was often called a foreign country or Spanish territory. Such names resulted from its having been the first state to permit a foreigner to acquire title to real estate. The extenuating circumstances that occasioned this concession involved no less a person than Joseph Bonaparte, ex-king of Spain and eldest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte.

It was less than a month after his brother's defeat at Waterloo that Joseph deemed it expedient to seek a foreign refuge. Accordingly, on July 25, 1815, he secretly and under the fictitious name Compte de Survilliers, embarked at Royan on the *Commerce,* a small French brig, destined for New York. After landing, he spent a few days in that city and then proceeded to Philadelphia where, during a stay of somewhat less than a year, he entreated the legislature of that state to grant him permission to purchase a home there without becoming a naturalized citizen. His appeal was denied, whereupon, at the suggestion of Admiral Charles Stewart, he made a similar request to the legislature of New Jersey, which was granted. On January 28, 1817, a copy of the act was sent him by Governor Mahlon Dickerson. Admiral Stewart, who was a resident of Bordentown, N.J., being confident that the Count's plea would be granted, prevailed upon him to acquire property in or near that town. In the spring of 1816 James Carret, as agent for Bonaparte, purchased from Stephen Sayre a tract near Bordentown known as Point Breeze, part of which was later to become Bonaparte's Park. Possession of this property was taken on July 2, 1816. Subsequent acquisitions extended the Count's holdings to ten farms and a park of about one thousand acres. This tract was improved by the erection of numerous stately buildings, the laying-out of several miles of carriage roads, and extensive landscaping, eventually becoming one of America's show-places. Reports of the Count's cordial relations with his neighbors, his generosity, open-handed hospi-

tality, and his custom of patronizing local merchants naturally spread to Pennsylvania. Because his residence among them had been denied by their legislature, people there became vehemently jealous of New Jersey's good fortune, and proceeded to stigmatize that state as being Spanish territory and a foreign country because they had a king, and they called its inhabitants foreigners, Spaniards, and royalists.

According to Richard C. Woodward of Bordentown, a local historian, only two of the many buildings comprising Bonaparte's estate are now extant. One, originally occupied by the Count's gardener, is located nearly opposite the Bordentown water tower, and the other is on the old Trenton road about half way between Mine Hollow and White Horse. The large house in Bordentown, located near the site of Joseph's palatial mansion and frequently mistaken for it, was built some time after 1850 by Henry Beckett and is presently owned and occupied by a Catholic order.

Among the geographical queries received, the following may prove of interest. "For some time I have been interested in unusual names of towns, villages and hamlets in New Jersey. Recently I learned that somewhere in South Jersey there was a settlement known as Ong's Hat. Can you inform me its location, also how and when it received this queer name?"

Straddling the old Pemberton road in Northampton Township, Burlington County, and lying some ten miles southeast of Mount Holly, is the site of what was once a pine-woods hamlet by this name. While the nucleus of this settlement was the establishment, about the year 1800, of a tavern, the locality was for many years without a name, being referred to merely as an inn or stage house. About 1829 the tavern was enlarged to include a dance hall which indirectly resulted in the place's being known as Ong's Hat. Among the male contingent who frequented the weekly dances was a youthful "'Beau Brummell" named Ong, an outstanding favorite with the ladies because of his store clothes, silk hat, and skill in dancing. While several traditions with respect to the settlement's name have been handed down, the most probable is as follows: During a certain winter evening, Mr. Ong's frequent visits to the taproom, between dances, resulted in his becoming hilarious. Suddenly he removed his silk topper

and, with inebrious delight, began tossing it into the air. As the low ceiling of the taproom seriously interfered with this demonstration, he sought the open spaces out-of-doors where he could achieve greater heights. His hat finally became firmly attached, far out of reach, in the branches of a stately oak standing in the tavern yard. Here it remained for many a day. Because of this incident, the tavern habitues began to refer to their rendezvous as "High Toss" or Ong's Hat. In the course of time the former designation was discarded and the latter became the hamlet's official name. It is recalled that some thirty or more years before this deserted land was acquired by New Jersey for inclusion in the Lebanon State Forest, its location could be identified readily by the ruins of two or three partially-filled-in cellars and overgrown ground depressions with a scattering of heavy field stones marking the existence of former foundations. Today all such indications have disappeared and the broad stretches of white sand are covered by a young growth of pine, white cedar, sour gum, scrub oak, and tall straggling Indian grass. However, one ancient and isolated oak growing close to the road may, perchance, be the identical tree among the branches of which Mr. Ong's hat found its final resting place.

A former resident of Union, N.J., writes: "I am somewhat perplexed by the following inscription on an illustrated post-card depicting the town's centre which reads as follows: 'Site of the Meeker Inn, built 1756, where Washington often stopped.' According to my recollections, which extend back for nearly sixty years, the inn was a somewhat dilapidated one-and-a-half-story roadside tavern which boasted no historical traditions. Therefore, may I ask whether the statements quoted are fact or fiction?"

Doubtless many of our members who, years ago, had occasion to drive through the town of Union (formerly Connecticut Farms) in Union County may recall this old hostelry which, until razed in 1932, stood at the intersection of Morris and Stuyvesant avenues, on the site now occupied by the Union Center National Bank. The reported date of erection and the alleged visits of Washington are wholly incorrect. According to surveys, deeds, mortgages, and other relevant papers in possession of the late Eugene O'Reilly, for many years its landlord, the tavern

was built by John Meeker, begun in the fall of 1803 and completed in the spring of 1804, somewhat over four years after Washington's death. Other evidence in support of the 1804 date of erection lies in the fact that prior to 1804 the inn, originally a stage-depot, would have served little purpose, since the building of the Morris Turnpike, which passed its door, was not undertaken until sometime after March 9, 1801, when the act authorizing its construction was passed by the legislature. May it not be that fabrications of like nature were responsible for Napoleon's charge that "History is a fable agreed upon"?

The Suffrage in New Jersey 1790-1807

J. R. POLE

UNIVERSAL white manhood suffrage was first incorporated into the constitution of New Jersey by the convention of 1844. The success of the suffrage reform movement might hence be considered, on a cursory view, as a product of Jacksonian democracy. In fact, however, the convention of 1844, in admitting all adult white males to the vote with the exception of the residents of certain institutions, was merely giving constitutional status to the practice of the previous forty or more years. Nor do the debates of the convention suggest any organized movement on the suffrage question.[1]

The decisive legal step towards suffrage extension in New Jersey had been taken nearly seventy years earlier, before independence had been proclaimed. When the third Provincial Congress, in an election ordinance of February, 1776,[2] abolished freehold tenure as a voting qualification in the elections for the subsequent Congress, it left no solid or organized group outside the suffrage barrier. A large number of petitions demanding suffrage extension had reached this Congress at its first session,[3] but there is no record of further agitation of the demand when its successor met at New Brunswick in June, 1776.

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[1] *New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1844* (Trenton, 1942), pp. 76-111.

[2] *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of . . . New Jersey* (Trenton, 1879), pp. 429-35.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 207, 220-21, 228, 231, 340, 346, 355, 365, 372. See also a letter in the New York *Journal* addressed to the New Jersey public and demanding suffrage extension, *New Jersey Archives*, 1st. Ser., XXXI, 200.

The fourth Provincial Congress, in June, 1776, incorporated the suffrage provisions of the February ordinances, under which it had been elected, into the text of the first independent constitution of New Jersey.[4] The remaining property qualification of fifty pounds clear estate in proclamation money was engulfed in the inflation of the following few years,[5] and even after this had subsided, no serious obstacle to a singularly liberal and widespread franchise seems to have remained, and no counterattack on the suffrage was ever attempted by the conservative, creditor or later Federalist interests in the state.

The constitution of 1776 contained very little to restrain the lawmaking powers of the legislature. The election laws of the legislative sessions are therefore a better guide to the working of electoral procedure, and to the extent of the suffrage, than are the clauses of a frame of government that stood unchanged from the Revolution to the Mexican War, presiding impotently over the growth of a complicated extra-legal party machinery, and statutory extensions, and curtailments, of the suffrage.

Even the election laws represent little more than the intention of the legislators. They provide merely a starting point for investigating electoral practices, not an account of what took place on election days in the townships and counties. Of these events there is, fortunately, abundant evidence in newspapers, contemporary political writings, and in the legislative records. The hearings of legislative committees on disputed elections raise new questions as to the intentions of the legislators; for when members of the Assembly or Council condone or fail to correct obvious and repeated abuses of responsibilities delegated by the laws to local officials, it seems that they must have expected and tolerated a wide margin of local idiosyncrasy, or at least have looked without severity on irregularities through which their colleagues had gained their seats.

Suffrage extension and electoral practice thus became a dual problem, involving at the legislative level the effects of laws by which the poll was brought nearer to the people, and at the

[4] *Minutes of the Provincial Congress*, pp. 552-58.

[5] Minutes of the Governor's Privy Council (MS.), New Jersey State Library, I, 35, 59-60, 68-69, 74-75, for inflationary rise in official salaries.

local, administrative level, the interpretation and practice of the laws by the judges and inspectors of elections.

II.

The most important step that could be taken to extend the exercise of the suffrage, after the removal, or watering down, of the major legal qualifications, was the introduction of a township system of polling. So long as polling was confined to, or centered on, the county courthouse, the dwellers in townships must be prepared to journey to the courthouse on one of the election days. The fundamental reform was brought about through the whole state in 1797, having been anticipated, in seven of the thirteen counties, in 1794.

In that year an act directing the time and mode of electing representatives to Congress provided for a new congressional election. In Bergen, Monmouth, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, Hunterdon, and Sussex, elections were to be held in townships, and were to be conducted as for the state legislature. Moreover, by the same law, the ballot was instituted for all congressional elections except in the obdurate county of Bergen, the last to accept this reform.[6]

As early as 1790, the election of township officers had been regulated by the legislature in a sense that looked towards one aspect of later state policy. The fourth clause of the constitution of 1776, dealing with suffrage qualifications, said nothing about the voter in township elections; and among the four statutes of the year 1790 touching questions of representation, was one "for regulating the election of Town-Officers." The principle that taxpayers should be allowed to vote, of which much had been heard some years before, was now recognized for the first time in the state's laws. All persons of twenty-one years, resident within any township or precinct within the state and paying taxes in it, were entitled to vote in the township elections.[7] This principle, although not yet bearing directly on the conduct of elections under the state constitution, was gradually absorbed into the electoral system, to be established by law for all elections in 1807.

[6] *Laws*, 19 sess., 1 sit., pp. 928-31.
[7] *Ibid.*, 15 sess., 1 sit., pp. 676-77.

The movement for township elections continued to gain momentum. Unfortunately, the issue did not attract the attention of the editors of local newspapers. The fact that township election laws could be passed without exciting editorial comment, while debates a year on two earlier over the setting up of electoral districts and over popular election of presidential electors were reported in detail, with editors taking sides on party lines, gives a clear impression of the generally non-partisan aspect of this popular trend.[8]

The people of Essex County were plainly dissatisfied with their exclusion from the township laws, nor were they content with an act of 1795 which added one township to the points to which the poll was to be adjourned.[9] A carefully organized petition, circulated in November of the same year—some nine months after the act of 1795—was signed by nearly nine hundred persons. Their complaint stated:

> The electors being thus confined, subjects many of them to great inconvenience and totally prevents a great number of them from attending the election; besides we conceive that the collecting the people together from one end of the county to the other, with different views and interests, has frequently caused such disputes, broils and animosities, that are seldom reconciled during the course of the ensuing year, and your petitioners are of opinion that if the elections in this county were to be holden separately, in each township, it would prevent many, if not all the evils, above mentioned, and would also be attended with much less expence . . .[10]

In 1797 the legislature of New Jersey introduced a general township system. This new and decisive law, which concerned all elections to the state legislature, completed two processes in the extending and securing of the suffrage. For one, it ordered all elections covered by its own regulation to be held by ballot. It ordained, further, that the inhabitants of each township were to appoint places, not exceeding two, for holding elections.[11]

[8] A number of newspapers give news and comment on politics in this period, among them the *New-Jersey Journal* (founded 1786 in Elizabeth); the *Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser* (founded 1792), to be cited as *Guardian;* the *Centinel of Freedom* (Newark, 1796); the *New-Jersey State Gazette* appeared in Trenton in 1796; the *Newark Gazette* in 1797; and the Trenton *Federalist* in 1798. The *True American* was founded as a Republican paper in 1801; the *Centinel* was already firmly Republican and the *New-Jersey Journal* had Republican leanings.

[9] *Laws,* 19 sess., 2 sit., p. 1059.

[10] AM 1131, NJSL.

[11] *Laws,* 21 sess., 2 sit., pp. 171-78.

The process was not at an end, since the growth of population was already necessitating the creation of new townships by the division of old ones. New townships were incorporated on these principles, in 1798, in the counties of Essex, Sussex, Gloucester and Morris.[12] But these measures were made necessary, not by demands for legislative extension of suffrage facilities so much as simply to keep those facilities abreast of an expanding population.

The poll had thus ceased to be a mobile unit and had become fixed in the township, answering, as nearly as might be, the request of a petition of May, 1793, which declared that the poll ought to be brought "as near to every man's door as possible."[13] The people had no longer to travel to the polls, only to walk, and the number of polling places might be double the total of townships in the state.

A minor, but revealing feature of this act is to be found in the provision made for the appointment of the township judges of election, now that it would no longer be possible to elect them at the courthouse. The judge, one only for each township, was to be appointed by the inhabitants qualified to elect town officers. He must, of course, be a reputable freeholder himself. The act also repeats the constitutional qualifications for voters: inhabitants of full age, worth fifty pounds, with twelve months' residence in the county.[14]

There is plainly room for discrepancy between the ownership of fifty pounds of property and the mere payment of a township tax as required of inhabitants to qualify as voters for town officers. It would have been very strange to give authority to inhabitants to participate in appointing the judge of an election from which they were themselves to be excluded; such an anomaly can hardly have been intended and it is most probable that the discrepancy was merely theoretical. The legislators, engaged in amending the electoral process by virtue of which they held their seats, had every reason to know how matters were conducted, and how small was the chance of any aspirant voter's being

[12]*Votes and Proceeding of the General Assembly,* Feb. 25, 1797; Feb. 13, 15, 16; Jan. 24, 29, 31, and Feb. 5; Jan. 29 and Feb. 10; Nov. 7, 1798; Jan. 29, 1799; *Laws,* 22 sess., 2 sit., pp. 264, 266-69, 287-88.

[13]AM 1936, NJSL.

[14]*Laws,* 21 sess., 2 sit., pp. 174, 177.

turned away on account of the property qualifications. It seems relatively sure that all those who voted for town officers were now expected to vote in state elections as well, despite the routine inclusion of the constitutional stipulation of monetary worth. When the time came for the next law to regulate a congressional election, the same system was applied.[15]

One year later a general law designated all the townships in the state, incorporated their inhabitants officially, and laid down the voting qualifications once again for town elections. The full number of townships incorporated by this act was 104, giving the people, therefore, a possible total of 208 voting places throughout the state in all legislative and congressional elections. The tenant of a rented tenement costing no more than five dollars a year or any township taxpayer was free to vote for his town officers under this act.[16]

The increased availability of the polls, together with rising interest in politics and electioneering, resulted in a marked expansion of the actual number of votes cast. In the congressional election of 1791, the state as a whole recorded some 8,080 votes,[17] amounting to about 21.6 per cent of the adult white male population.[18]

Eighteen months later, in November, 1791, a new congressional

[15] *Ibid.*, 22 sess., 2 sit., p. 310.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 289-302.

[17] Minutes of the Governor's Privy Council, I, 172-73.

[18] Sources of election statistics are cited in each case. The proportion of adult white males represented by the total votes cast, has been obtained with the help of the federal censuses for the years 1790, 1800, and 1810. I am much in the debt of Mr. George Stolnitz, of the Department of Population Research, Princeton University, for computations of the total number of white males over twenty-one for these years in each county, and of the proportion of the population which they comprised.

Although women and Negroes were discovered under the constitution to have a legal right of suffrage, the evidence suggests that this right was only occasionally exploited, attracting an amount of publicity which makes it possible to discount those elections in our statistics. Fraudulent elections, which were frequent, did not often cause a large addition to the totals, and when they did, these again can be detected either in petitions or in the figures themselves.

The figures and percentages are not exact. Newspaper reports were not always accurate, and some latitude must be allowed in the computations. I have used the census figure for 1800 in estimations from 1800 to 1804; for 1805 and 1806, I have added half the increase registered by the census of 1810. For 1807 to 1810, I have used the 1810 figures. The increases in this period are not so great as to render this method dangerously unreliable. The same method has been applied to each decade. There is a possibility of error a few per cent in some cases, but alterations of this scale do not affect the inferences.

election brought out some 8,580 voters,[19] or twenty-three per cent of the adult white males. In the first congressional election to be held after the township system had been enacted, 18,967 people cast their votes,[20] representing just over forty-seven per cent of the adult white males. The elections of 1800, the first in which New Jersey sent a complete ticket of Republican representatives to Congress, produced a vote of 28,718,[21] no less than seventy-one per cent of the adult white males.

The state returns, although scanty in this period, are the best general indication of voting tendencies, for in them the special characteristics of various counties necessarily cancel each other. The numerous and politically alert people of Essex County might be expected to vote rather more heavily than those of many others, and already in 1795, before the enactment of a township law for the county, fifty per cent of the adult white males came to the polls to vote in the legislative election.[22]

Following the township law, sixty-three per cent of the white males of Essex voted in the state elections.[23] In Hunterdon, some 1,300 cast their votes in 1792, about thirty-two per cent,[24] while 100 or so fewer voted in the elections for Congress in the same year.[25] One group of results can not be relied on as typical, although the roughly similar turnout for two elections within two months gives an approximation to the voting capacity; the next figures available for the county come after the township law, in 1798, when some forty-nine per cent of the adult white males voted in legislative elections,[26] with almost exactly the same proportion voting again the following year.[27]

The absence of voting statistics of any consistency makes it impossible to arrive at a fully documented account of the effects of the abolition of freehold tenure, or the extension of the number of authorized polling places, in the period between the

[19]Minutes of the Governor's Privy Council, I, 176-77.

[20]*Federalist;* or *New-Jersey Gazette* (hereafter cited as *Federalist*), Nov. 19, 1798.

[21]*Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1801.

[22]*New-Jersey Journal,* Oct. 21, 1795. There were 1,969 votes cast. In congressional elections of the same year only 1,019 votes were cast, a reminder that local affairs were often more interesting to voters than those of the nation. (Election returns, Room 118, NJSL.)

[23]*New-Jersey Journal,* Oct. 18, 1797.

[24]Election returns, Room 120, NJSL.

[25]Election returns, Room 118, NJSL.

[26]*Federalist,* Oct. 15, 1798.

[27]*New-Jersey State Gazette,* Oct. 15, 1799.

first rumblings of the Revolution and the adoption of the federal Constitution. Between 1790 and 1800, however, the laws that brought the poll "as near to every man's door as possible," manifestly contributed to the practical extension of the suffrage. Nor is this aspect to be regarded as merely subordinate to the main issue of legal right; for a right that cannot be exercised is no right, while there is good reason to believe that, where polling facilities were established, the right to vote was seldom withheld, and was trespassed upon more often than restricted.

III

The township law of 1797, by providing that township electors were to appoint judges for state elections, lets slip the suggestion that legislators really expected the vote to be generally exercised in higher elections by all who were entitled to vote for their local officers. This inference from the terms of the act points to such a conclusion but does not have to stand alone in supporting it. The extent of suffrage was determined, in the last analysis, not by the constitution, or by the clauses of statutes, so much as by what went on at the polls.

Polling practices were markedly lacking in uniformity. This defect was criticised by William Paterson in one of a series of essays on New Jersey politics, written within the first ten years of the federal Constitution. "We have no uniform law on elections to Congress or the legislature," he observed, and went on to argue that in view of the high importance of elections, the mode of conducting them ought to be made uniform throughout the state. Not only had he noticed varying practices in different counties, but within a single county at different times.[28]

The fullest source of information on election practices lies in the records of disputed elections. From some of these it becomes possible to build a picture of what polling day was like. A variety of accounts lends color to the remarks of Paterson, and leaves the impression that the principal kind of uniformity consisted only in frequent and unrepenting departures from the prescribed procedure.

[28]William Paterson, Essays (MS.), Rutgers University Library. Some of the essays have been identified as contributions to the newspapers. They are not dated in the MS., though some, of course, can be dated from internal evidence.

The year 1802 was particularly rich in electoral mischief. The intensity of party conflict, to which the illegalities were no doubt due, helped to produce an equality of party strengths in the joint meeting of the legislature, and a deadlock lasting throughout the year.[29] Complaints of irregularities from Middlesex and Monmouth, comparatively trivial in character, were heard and dismissed.[30] But the townships, streets, and taverns of Hunterdon County in this election witnessed a picturesque variety of electoral procedures. Not only the election, but the conduct of the Assembly committee sitting on the complaints, was called into question by dissatisfied citizens.

Six petitions relating to the Hunterdon election came up to the legislature within a short time of its opening. The main complaint stated that the judges and inspectors had admitted many non-qualified persons to vote—persons under age, persons who had not fulfilled residence requirements, "and a numerous body of Negroes who produced no evidence of their being free, some of whom were actually slaves, were permitted to vote for Members to represent the free Citizens of this county." In Maidenhead Township it was alleged that citizens of Philadelphia and married women had been allowed to vote, while proxy votes had also been taken.[31] A counter-petition declared that the unlawful votes had gone to the defeated side, who benefited by other unlawful practices; the two copies of this counter-petition received 114 signatures against less than fifty for the plaintiffs.[32]

The House committee on elections considered all the complaints, heard the evidence of the citizens and produced a point-by-point report. The charge that citizens of Philadelphia had voted at Maidenhead, in the committee's opinion, lacked support. The finding on the charge that married women had voted shows that the laws were capable of being interpreted with a liberal sense of the claims of citizenship; one married woman had voted, but she had been deserted several years before by her husband, had retaken her former name, had voted and paid taxes. As to

[29]*Minutes and Proceedings of the Joint Meeting,* Oct. 28 and Nov. 25, 1802, pp. 31-36.

[30]*Votes and Proceedings,* Oct. 29, Nov. 1, 4, 9, 10, 1802.

[31]AM 1979, NJSL.

[32]*Ibid.*

the proxy votes, this practice had previously occurred in the township; in the absence of any statement on its legality, local custom seems here to be regarded as sufficient sanction.

At Trenton, the charge that the poll had been improperly moved was held not to have been supported. That the judge had received votes in the open streets from carriages drew depracatory remarks from the committee; the practice, which might be much abused, was irregular if not unlawful, though it had prevailed already in certain cases in Trenton. No objection had been made to it during this election, and votes of all opinions had been so received. As far as such a mode of voting could be, it was done fairly. The remaining six complaints were, that persons under age, non-residents, aliens, Negroes and slaves, persons not worth fifty pounds, and married women had been permitted to vote. These were collectively dismissed on the ground that the voters had not been challenged at the time, and that the law compelled the officers to put the ballot in the box unless either the vote was challenged or they knew the claim to vote to be unlawful. It was the unanimous opinion of the committee, agreed to by the House, that it would not be expedient to set these elections aside.[33]

The methods of the commmittee, however, themselves excited protest. The petitioners decided to appoint a committee of their own, to present their case to the House investigators,[34] and after attending the House hearings they entered another protest, stating that they had hoped for a full and fair investigation of the facts, but unfortunately,

> The hearing has been hitherto held in a small and inconvenient room for that purpose—and that great disorder has taken place in conducting their business—A number of persons crowd around the witnesses when under examination—whisper to them—answer for them—And frequently interrupt them—And obstruct the persons appointed by the petitioners to carry on the Investigation.

They accused the committee on elections of using erroneous principles, refusing to allow enquiry as to which candidates were voted for where proxy votes were received (a point to be compared with the committee finding that proxy votes were re-

[33] *Votes and Proceedings*, Oct. 27, 29, Nov. 4, 11, 16, 1802.
[34] AM 1979, NJSL.

ceived of all opinions), or where the vote was otherwise illegal. If this complaint was true, incidentally, the committee could have defended itself by pointing out that the purpose of the ballot was privacy. This petition was one of relatively few in which it was charged that many persons not possessed of property to the amount of fifty pounds had been admitted to vote. The allegation is evidence, if true, both that the fifty-pound clause would still have disqualified potential voters if it had been enforced, and that, on this occasion, it was not enforced.[35] Since the report of the committee on elections, and the vote of the Assembly, made a final disposal of the charges of the petitioners, it is useful to have this reminder that the commitee's proceedings might be conducted without due regard for the rules of order or evidence.

Animosities roused by this election were aired in the press for several months. While hearings were still going on, the Trenton *Federalist*[36] answered an attack by stating that in one township, legal votes had been rejected because they were Federalist, while illegal votes for the Democrats had been received; and that in another, oaths of allegiance were arbitrarily demanded in order to intimidate the Friends. This accusation was repeated in a derisory dialogue alluding to the same election, in which a character named "Protection" referred to the frightening of all the Quakers away from the poll at Kingwood "by thundering down 'oath of allegiance' upon them"—to which "Allegiance," with disarming candor, replied, "Yes, let me tell you friend, it was nothing but that saved us . . . " Protection had not finished, however. "At the Lebanon election," he told Allegiance, "when *our* ragged voters came to the poll . . . **** stood with a bible ready to make all the Feds swear they were worth fifty pounds."[37]

The anonymous official with the Bible must be supposed to have expected, not only that a large number of people lacking fifty pounds of property would presume to vote, but that the threat of a Bible oath would turn them away; while Protection, in his indignation, lets slip the fact that he expected illegal votes to be accepted as a matter of course. This animated campaign was

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Oct. 25, 1802.

[37] *Federalist*, Feb. 28, 1803.

recalled in 1807, when the election laws were being revised.[38]

The atmosphere in which elections were conducted was enlivened by liquor and brawling, nor does it appear that tavernkeepers confined themselves to selling alcohol; for a petition from one of the townships of Gloucester County, in 1803, objecting to the unlawful manner of the late election, stated more especially, "That a large Mob headed by the Landloard of the Tavern where the Election was held threatened the Lives of persons who came to vote and drove them away from the Election."[39] The absence of citizenship requirements let many recent immigrants into the poll, while the general laxity of election officers seems usually to have rendered the remaining stipulations little more than a rhetorical formula.

William Griffith, an able and well-informed lawyer, who published, under the name "Eumenes," a series of articles in favor of a reform of the state constitution, called attention to the squalid conditions prevailing in elections:

> We all know that foreigners of every description, are indifferently admitted into our elections, and have a right so to be. Our polls swarm with the very refuse of English, Irish, Dutch and French emigrations and transportations; with the worst sort of people from the neighbouring states; fugitives from justice; absconding debtors; and, in short, all people whom convenience, inclination, intrigue or crimes, induce to take a footing in the State.[40]

William Paterson, Supreme Court justice of the United States, formerly governor of New Jersey and her most distinguished representative at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, was shocked at the amount of ignorance and illiteracy revealed by the election, and pointed out the need for education in a republican system. "What vile tricks," he wrote, "are practised on the ignorant and the unwary? Tickets are often palmed upon such as cannot write nor read; by which means they sometimes vote *in* the person whom they intended to vote *out*."[41]

An interesting point is made by Griffith when, in discussing

[38] *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1807.

[39] AM 1978, NJSL.

[40] William Griffith, *Eumenes* (Trenton, 1799), p. 36. The articles appeared in the Trenton *Federalist* in the winter of 1798-99, and were published in book form in the latter year; all references are to the book.

[41] Paterson, Essays, signed "A," Rutgers University Library.

suffrage qualifications, he remarks that the constitution requires electors to own fifty pounds *clear* estate—property, that is, free of debt or similar encumbrance. He gives, in this passage, one of the very few intimations to be found in contemporary writings or records, that the suffrage qualifications may in fact have restricted the suffrage.

> Many [he says] give up their pretensions to vote rather than swear themselves possessed of £50 *clear* value: traders, people of large families and small incomes, beginners in business, who set out on credit, whether farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, professional characters—may work honestly for years before having a *clear* estate of even fifty pounds.[42]

A moment later he qualifies this by adding, "It must be acknowledged, that this injudicious regulation is not always enforced"—but that, of course, means a breach of oath.[43] As a matter of fact, the election laws had quietly left the constitution behind in this little particular, for a scrutiny of the act "to regulate the election of members of the legislative council," etc., of February, 1797, shows that the suffrage clause had been written to read:

> That all free inhabitants of this state, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds, proclamation money, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote, for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for all public officers which shall be elected by virtue of this act . . .[44]

Even if the official restrictions were enforced from time to time, it is clear that they were applied without consistency or uniformity and that, in general, local practice had long since lost touch with the terms of the constitution.

In 1797 William Paterson estimated the number of legally qualified voters in New Jersey at thirty-five thousand; originally he wrote "40,000," but crossed it out in favor of the lesser figure, suggesting that he gave the point some thought.[45] It has been observed[46] that this total comprised ninety per cent of the adult white male population, with the inference that only a fraction were legally disfranchised. By 1797, however, the gap in the

[42] *Eumenes*, p. 45.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[44] *Laws*, 21 sess., 2 sit., p. 174.
[45] Paterson, Essays, signed "Hortensius," p. 81.
[46] Richard P. McCormick, *Experiment in Independence* (New Brunswick, 1950), p. 90. I follow his dating of this essay.

constitution through which women could pass to the poll had been discovered, and they were being treated as legal voters; the number of spinsters and widows, that is, of women who might legally own property, was estimated by Griffith only a year or two later, at not less than ten thousand,[47] and if this were so, the remaining twenty-five thousand voters would constitute some sixty-four per cent of the adult white males. These figures are only approximate. Paterson was well qualified to speak of New Jersey's affairs; but all we can say in the present case seems to be that his statement is not as definitive as it would be if we knew precisely whom he regarded as qualified voters.

Many of the practices allowed or exercised at the polls were plainly illegal, others were based on almost flippantly loose constructions of the constitution, but the practice of female suffrage, potentially the broadest instrument for suffrage extension, could not be described as an illegal or illegitimate interpretation of the constitution, however much it might have shocked the framers of that hastily written document.

The suffrage provisions of the constitution simply used the word "inhabitants." L. Q. C. Elmer, a respected New Jersey lawyer and legislator a generation later than these events, observed that women were never intended to be included, pointing out that the pronoun "he" alone was used in the clause.[48] Yet there was no denying that women were inhabitants, and so were free Negroes; if the constitution of 1776 had been drawn up with a haste that disregarded these niceties, that was one more reason for amending it.

The newspapers, legislative records, and files of petitions in the State Library contain no suggestion that female suffrage was brought about by anything in the nature of a feminist movement; women appear neither to have sought the suffrage in any organized way, nor to have made consistent use of it once conferred.[49] Quaker influence was probably behind the development, for among the Quakers, women could preach and hold a

[47] *Eumenes*, p. 34.

[48] L. Q. C. Elmer, *Constitution and Government of . . . New Jersey . . . and Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar* (Newark, 1872), p. 32.

[49] E. R. Turner, "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807," in *Smith College Studies in History*, I, 169.

number of offices; but even after the inclusion of the alternatives "he or she" in the election statutes for the first time, in 1790,[50] there is no sign of women in any numbers having availed themselves of their new franchise. The phrase "he or she" was repeated, in 1797, in an act regulating elections to the legislature throughout the state,[51] and it was about this time that the votes of women began to be registered and even to have some effect on elections.

Although women did not seek the vote, their franchise was capable on occasion of being exploited, more freely, it appears, in the eastern county of Essex than in the western counties where they already participated in the communal life of the Friends. In October, 1797, the Republican candidate for the Assembly, Dr. John Condict, triumphed over a Federalist rival for whom the day was nearly saved by a mobilization of the voting strength of the women of Elizabethtown.[52]

Condict, whose sense of propriety seems to have been wounded, took a leading part in the suppression of female suffrage ten years later; but the incident should not be taken as showing that women were now a regular element in the politics of the state. On the contrary, the attention excited suggests that the event was extraordinary indeed. The reporter to the *New-Jersey Journal,* under the head, "Rights of Woman," informed readers: "At the late election in this town, the FEMALES asserted the privilege granted them by the laws of this state, and gave in their votes for members to represent them in the state legislature." Such use of capitals bespeaks no ordinary custom. The writer went on to acknowledge the general opinion that women "ought not to intermeddle in political affairs," yet noted, without giving his source, that the emperor of Java employed only women, as being more accustomed to dissimulation and constraint.[53]

By the time Griffith came to write his case for constitutional reform, the practice had gone far enough to draw some stringent comments, although the most acid was confined to a footnote.

[50] *Laws,* 19 sess., 1 sit., pp. 925-26; Turner, *op. cit.,* p. 168. This law applied to the counties of Bergen, Monmouth, Gloucester, Burlington, Salem, Hunterdon, and Sussex.

[51] *Laws,* 21 sess., 2 sit., p. 174.

[52] Turner, *op. cit.,* p. 170.

[53] *New-Jersey Journal,* Oct. 18, 1797.

"It is perfectly disgusting," he wrote, "to witness the manner in which women are polled at our elections. Nothing can be a greater mockery of this invaluable and sacred right, than to suffer it to be exercised by persons, who do not even pretend to any judgment on the subject."[54]

Women's votes, according to Griffith, were used to gain advantages for towns, and could be influential in thickly populated areas; it was important to clarify the rights of the ten thousand or so spinsters and widows over twenty-one years of age in the state[55]—although the point had already been clarified for anyone willing to accept the legislative acts of the previous few years.

The legislators of the state were not prepared to admit that any ambiguity still existed. In the session of 1800, during the progress of a bill for regulating congressional elections, a motion was made to insert a section stating that suffrage extended to widows and unmarried women worth fifty pounds, black or white; but the House almost unanimously agreed that as this was clearly within the constitution, it would be useless to insert it into the law.[56]

The evidence of the complaints against the Hunterdon election of 1802 shows that not only propertied women, but Negroes who could meet the qualifications, were being treated as legitimate voters. It was alleged in one case that "a numerous body of Negroes who produced no evidence of their being free" had voted,[57] implying that even the plaintiffs would not have objected to free Negroes at the polls. When the committee on elections dismissed this batch of six complaints on the ground that the voters had not been challenged at the time, and the law compelled the officers to put the ballot in the box unless either the vote were challenged or they knew the claim to vote to be illegal, they conceded, by necessary implication, that the votes of Negroes might have been legally received.[58]

This phase stands as a remarkable, if limited, episode, in the early history of American suffrage. Certainly the laws and practices of New Jersey were exceptionally liberal, or as many con-

[54] *Eumenes*, p. 33*n*.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
[56] *Centinel of Freedom*, Nov. 11, 1800.
[57] See above, p. BLANK.
[58] See above, p. BLANK.

temporaries would have said, licentious, as the newly forming political parties tried their strengths and strove to extend their reaches in the new freedom of an independent republic. But even so, female suffrage failed to gain permanent status or even general recognition from the officers in charge. "It is well known," wrote Griffith, "that women are admitted or rejected, just as may suit the views of the persons in direction."[59] There were some elections in which the votes of women, and possibly of Negroes, made a visible difference to the figures; but these can usually be detected either from election disputes or from the statistics themselves. There is no reason to suppose that this interesting but isolated phenomenon influenced the course of legislation, or even elevated in any way the status of women or of colored people, in New Jersey.

The whole episode reached its climax and conclusion within a few years. In 1807 there took place, in Essex County, a holocaust of political morals in which every kind of abuse was exploited with festive extravagance. This most bitterly contested of early elections had no source in the conventional politics of Federalists and Republicans; the county, which had a Republican majority, was divided between north and south, the villages or nascent towns of Newark and Elizabeth being the hotbeds of an intense political and economic rivalry. The trouble began because Essex needed a new courthouse and, under the usual statutory provision, an election was due to be held in February, 1807.

The voting began on February 10. Citizens of Newark and Elizabeth had agreed on an exchange of committees, to watch the proceedings of an election whose outcome was so eagerly awaited. The Elizabeth *Journal* was informed that the Newark committee had declared itself satisfied with the conduct of the Elizabeth inspectors. At Orange, where the Newark voting was being held, the Elizabeth committee challenged and turned away a number of persons coming up to vote; and on asking at what time voting would be resumed the next day, they were told, at daybreak. The men of Newark, however, tiptoeing to the polling place at four o'clock in the morning, gathered in a thousand votes before the unfortunate committee arrived. And yet, declared the *Journal,* it

[59] *Eumenes,* p. 33.

was the Newark party that had accused the Elizabeth party of a breach of faith.[60]

The Newark version, while agreeing that there had been impurities in the election, differed as to their origin. Rehearsing the story during the legislative hearings nine months later, the *Centinel* declared that the Elizabeth poll had gathered twelve hundred votes at the end of the first day—two hundred more than had been expected from the township in two days. At Springfield, another polling place in south Essex, the Newark commitee was ordered out of the election room.[61] The sinister motive of the people of Elizabeth was to build bridges over Newark Bay, obstruct navigation and destroy Newark as a rival. It is not quite clear how the presence of the courthouse would aid the building of bridges, but it would, of course, strengthen the commercial and professional position of the township by attracting all the business surrounding the session of the court. The *Centinel* went on to state that Newark was a stronghold of Republicanism, Elizabeth of Federalism.[62] This political shaft seems to have been an unpleasant afterthought, rather than an echo of the real issues.

Republicanism of any sort was discarded early in the election. A writer in the *Centinel* asserted that the Newark interest suffered through people's being put on their oath. "How abominable!" cried the *Journal,* "What! Does it not satisfy them, that by the basest artifices, they made out to obtain 5,039 votes in their township? How many more did they wish to get into the box? Perhaps they would not be satisfied with 24,000, the whole number of inhabitants in the county." Freedom, according to the *Journal,* was in danger.[63] A few days later the same newspaper rose into poetry:

> For they call'd in bog trotters, and negroes I'm told,
> And young boys and girls of a dozen years old —
> And wives they admitted to give in their votes,
> And a great many changed both their hats and their coats,
> And voted five times, yes, six, eight and ten,
> And from Bergen they called over two hundred men;
> For all were made welcome whoever they found
> Who were willing to vote for their favorite ground.[64]

[60] *New-Jersey Journal,* Feb. 24, 1807.
[61] *Centinel of Freedom,* Nov. 17, 1807.
[62] *Ibid.,* Nov. 24, 1807.
[63] *New-Jersey Journal,* Feb. 24, 1807.
[64] *Ibid.,* March 3, 1807.

Aesthetic sensibility should not obscure the general truth of this description. In reporting the count, the *Journal* stated that respectable people and even professors of religion had been involved in the "nefarious corruption," which it described as "a daring outrage on our liberties." Newark was much to blame. The total population of Essex was reported, including blacks and children, to number 22,139; the total number of votes: 13,857.[65]

The matter came before the Council when petitions and remonstrances were presented on November 3,[66] and the hearing began on November 26. Counsel were heard on both sides, but the northern testimony was rejected on the ground that it would only confirm the fraud, "it being immaterial where it began."[67] On the same day it was resolved, "That the Council pronounce the said election to have been illegally conducted, and all proceedings had thereon illegal; and the petitioners against the said election have liberty to present a Bill to this House, declaring the said election null and void . . . "[68] The next day, an act to vacate the courthouse election was carried, twelve to one, the single negative coming from Moses Jaques, the newly elected Essex councillor.[69]

Even before the Essex courthouse election had been annulled, the legislature had taken steps to end the ambiguity of which Griffith had formerly complained, and other abuses permitted by the form of the existing laws, in a new general act to regulate elections. In the preamble, the ground for the new measure was laid out:

> WHEREAS doubts have been raised, and great diversities of practice obtained throughout the state in regard to the admission of *aliens, females,* and *persons of color,* or *negroes* to vote in elections, as also in regard to the mode of ascertaining the qualifications of voters in regard to *estate.*—AND WHEREAS, it is highly necessary to the safety, quiet, good order and dignity of the state, to clear up the said doubts by an act of the representatives of the people, declaratory of the true sense and meaning of the constitution, and to ensure its just exercise in these particulars, according to the intent of the framers thereof;—*Therefore . . .*

and the legislature, having assumed the power to interpret the

[65] *Ibid.,* Feb. 17, 1807.
[66] *Journal of . . . the Legislative-Council,* 1807, p. 623.
[67] *Centinel of Freedom,* Dec. 1, 1807.
[68] *Journal of . . . the Legislative-Council,* 1807, p. 667.
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 671.

constitution by its own declaration, proceeded to lay down the limits of the suffrage franchise:

> No person shall vote . . . unless such person be a *free, white, male citizen* of this state, of the age of twenty-one years, worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate, and have resided in the county where he claims a vote, for at least twelve months immediately preceding the election . . . [And further] That in order to establish an uniform practice throughout the state, and to avoid all questions in regard to the qualification of the voter as to estate . . . every person, in other respects entitled to a vote, who shall have paid a tax for the use of the county, or support of the state government, and whose name shall be enrolled on any duplicate list of the last state or county tax, shall be adjudged by the officers conducting the election to be worth fifty pounds clear estate, and entitled to vote for all officers of government chosen by the people at large.[70]

Under this system of interpretation, the old fifty-pound clause was effectively abolished. From this point of view, the new law might at first be seen as an extension of the suffrage; a Republican majority, controlling the legislature, had extended the voting privilege to practically all single men provided only that they were white citizens of full age.[71]

The Republican majority in this great enterprise, however, was joined by the Federalist minority to such effect that the final passage of the bill was opposed by only five members of the Assembly.[72] The measure was supported by the press of both parties, although the Trenton *Federalist* rebuked one of its rivals for taking care "to slide very smoothly over the unexampled outrages committed in the democratic county of Essex" and for making it appear that John Condict, in defending the measure, had dwelt mainly on the Hunterdon illegalities of 1802. The *Federalist,* still harping on this theme, then went back to compare the two elections.[73]

[70] *Laws,* 32 sess., 1 sit., pp. 14-15.

[71] See, for example, W. R. Fee, *The Transition from Aristocracy to Democracy in New Jersey* (Somerville, 1933), pp. 102-03. Fee states that single men possessing no other property than their dogs, appeared on the tax duplicate, citing Township Tax Duplicates, Princeton University Library. A search of the general and manuscript catalogues and enquiries to the reference and manuscript librarians have failed to uncover these records; but in any case the law required payment of a state or county tax. The present article will show the tax incidence to have been comprehensive.

[72] *Votes and Proceedings,* Nov. 11, 12, 1807.

[73] *Federalist,* Nov. 30, 1807.

Dr. Condict made the chief speech in favor of the new law, and a motion to strike out the first clause was negatived by a large majority.[74] There is reason to think that Condict had been prejudiced against women's voting since his experience of 1797 when the ladies of Elizabeth had so nearly unseated him; and he blamed the vote of a Negro slave for the result of the Hunterdon election of 1802, and hence for the party equality and the ensuing deadlock in the joint session.[75] If we followed this reasoning it would be necessary to modify, in favor of this powerful member of a subject race, the statement that female and Negro suffrage in no way altered the course of legislation.[76] The new law contained an amendment, proposed by Condict, limiting elections to one day. "This," remarked the *Federalist,* "will be a salutary alteration to the present mode on the *score of morals,* but rather a bad one for *Tavernkeeper's scores!"* The *Journal* copied this statement with approval.[77]

There is no evidence to support the view that the measure in any way proceeded from republican principles or from the political policy of the Republican party. Its main provisions were a matter of general agreement among the legislators. Inasmuch as it abolished the suffrage of women and Negroes, the act was restrictive; but no party was expected to be the loser by the removal of this group of votes, nor were other political issues affected. In extending the suffrage officially to all white male citizens of full age who paid taxes, the new law was certainly intended to exclude a numerous body of aliens, but in other respects it merely brought the letter of the law into line with practices that do not seem to have been seriously challenged.

The removal of female and Negro voters made no material difference to the general level of voting, if only because women and Negroes had voted, not as a matter of customary right, but rather when they were whipped up to tip the balance in a hotly contested campaign. The extension to taxpayers was in practice a sanction rather than an extension. It might be maintained that

[74] *Centinel of Freedom,* Nov. 24, 1807.

[75] Trenton *True American,* Nov. 23, 1807, quoted by Marion J. Wright, "Negro Suffrage in New Jersey," *Journal of Negro History,* April, 1948, p. 175.

[76] See above, p. BLANK.

[77] *Federalist,* Nov. 16, 1807; *New-Jersey Journal,* Nov. 24, 1807.

these groups cancelled each other, and so left the voting statistics on an approximate parity with those of the years before 1807; but the statistics confirm the findings from the other evidence, rather than pointing some distinct conclusion of their own.

In 1800 the congressional election brought out almost seventy-two per cent of the white male population of the state.[78] Satisfactory figures for the election of 1804 are not available; in 1806, less than twenty-nine per cent voted,[79] and it was not until 1808, a year after the new law, that the seventies were again reached.[80] The state as a whole does not seem to have had its habits changed. Voting in the counties fluctuated for a variety of reasons, but samples taken over a period of ten or twelve years confirm the finding that voting potential was not noticeably altered. Middlesex in 1800 polled sixty-nine per cent for the legislature, and in 1808 was again capable of polling over seventy.[81] The objection that women and Negroes ought to be included before 1807 has been answered with the explanation that their voting was merely sporadic and of slight importance; but if they had been swelling the figures, their exclusion would produce a sharp drop in the statistics for adult white males, and the pre-1807 figures would then appear suspect. Yet Hunterdon County, which ran up a poll of eighty-four per cent in 1801, and eighty-three per cent in 1806, again showed eighty-seven in 1808 and eighty-one in 1809.[82] It requires no great stretch of imagination to suppose that frauds continued after the act of 1807 as before, but further voting by women or Negroes would certainly have brought the most vehement protests, and there is no evidence of such practices. Hunterdon reported a poll of ninety-five per cent in the disputed election of 1802, and over one hundred per cent in both 1803 and 1807[83]—obvious cases of fraud. The western Burlington, which recorded seventy-eight per cent in 1800, achieved sixty-five in 1808.[84] This county does exhibit a decline,

[78] *Federalist*, Jan. 6, 1801.

[79] Minutes of the Governor's Privy Council, NJSL, II, 40. All percentages refer to adult white males.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

[81] *New-Jersey State Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1800; *Federalist*, Oct. 24, 1808.

[82] *Federalist*, Oct. 27, 1801, Oct. 27, 1806, Oct. 24, 1808, Oct. 30, 1809.

[83] *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1802, Oct. 24, 1803, Oct. 26, 1807.

[84] *New-Jersey State Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1800; *Federalist*, Oct. 24, 1808.

though figures are too incomplete to say whether it had set in before 1807 or coincided with that year. In one county where a change might really have been expected, Essex, there is indeed a drop from the most implausible report of over 100 per cent in 1801, and ninety-seven per cent in 1807, to seventy-four per cent in a vote for Congress in 1808.[85] The preposterous earlier totals were not repeated in subsequent years.[86] Political morality was helped out by a general decline of interest in politics, especially after the brief flareup over the War of 1812.

The high proportion of voters in the earlier years, on the other hand, shows a lively political consciousness and also, no doubt, an interest in the social activities generated by election day in the towns; it also reflects a wide suffrage, very little restricted as to men by even the most formal requirements. In 1809, tax assessments were laid down for the different counties in order to raise the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. A table in the legislative proceedings lists the various properties and the rates at which they were to be assessed, and includes the information that "single men" were to be taxed at eight dollars a head.[87]

While married men might be free from state taxation, it is hard to believe that they escaped some trivial county tax, even if they were not included on the same list as householders.

This franchise was neither forged nor manipulated into existence by the actions of any one political party, nor was it the product of an organized political movement incorporating the demands of a submerged but rising economic class. It came about in logical and almost undisputed continuation of the principles and necessities of the Revolution. The historian of New Jersey should expect, moreover, that the sources of the generous suffrage franchise of the state will be discovered in the practices of the colonial period.

[85] *Federalist,* Jan. 6, 1801; *New-Jersey Journal,* Oct. 20, 1807, Oct. 18, 1808.
[86] *New-Jersey Journal* files; election returns (for 1813), Room 120, NJSL.
[87] *Votes and Proceedings,* Nov. 15, 1809, facing p. 262.

Early Campaigns in North Carolina

The Dairy of Private Edmund J. Cleveland, Company K, 9th New Jersey Volunteers

EDITED BY EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR.

[*Continued from Volume* 70, *page* 283]

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1864. *3:30 P.M.*

The flag of truce boat returned from City Point last evening. It discovered three rebel iron clads above Harrison's Landing. This has caused much talk on board. It is reported that we will not move until we receive further orders. I guess the excitement will soon blow over. I think that we are safe for I heard the captain say that he would put out to sea if the rams made their appearance.

The boys are on the look out for the paymaster who is paying off the troops on the other vessels. The whole pay including a month's back pay, one month in advance, clothing allowance, old bounty, amounts to over $200.

As usual on shipboard the boys who have money have taken to gambling. Four "sweat boards" are now operating near the forward hatch on the berth deck. Last night one "sweat board" keeper, Somers of Co. E, lost over $100.

We slept comfortably in the hold last night. It is very thick this morning.

4:30 P.M. I just learned that the rebel rams made their appearance during the fog this morning. After a brisk engagement they captured two picket boats. The "Montauk" starts in a short time and I suppose we will follow as soon as we are paid off. Peer, Hamler and I had a huge link of bologna sausage for supper. Lots of sutlers on board.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1864

It was foggy again this morning. The "Montauk" with Cos. A, B and C on board sailed yesterday at 3:30 p.m. We overtook them between Cape Charles and Cape Henry. Swimming in the water were flocks of birds called gannets. The vessel is rocking so violently that it is difficult to write.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1864. *8:30 A.M.*

Yesterday, the vessel rolled, causing many to cry out piteously, "New York." I was one of the unfortunates.

Since the men were paid off, the green backs have been flying around. Several have lost their entire bounties on the "sweat boards." A member of Co. D had his pocket-book containing $500 stolen from him yesterday. He has tried in vain to recover it. There is a subscription list being circulated to raise some money for him.

As I write the blue line of the Jersey shore is faintly visible off the port bow. The engineer says that we are making 10 knots an hour and that he will run us in by 6:00 p.m.

4:00 P.M. At 11:00 a.m. we passed Barnegat Light. Being only three miles off shore we are getting a good view of everything on land. The hills of Jersey dotted with white cottages are very attractive. A few minutes ago we passed the home of Commodore Stockton near Squam Village.

This morning Abner Hamler missed his pocketbook. Shortly before Hamler discovered his loss, John Weber (killed in action, Port Walthall Junction, May 6, 1864) acted so suspiciously with his money that he was accused of stealing the pocketbook. A few minutes later the pocketbook was found in Weder's knapsack. Weder was searched a second time and one of the missing bills was found in his watch fold under his watch. The boys booted Weber out of the hold, Kuntze performing the ceremony of throwing his things after him.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1864. *8:00 A.M. New York Harbor*

We passed Highland Light (Navesink) at 6:00 p.m. yesterday. A stirring breeze was blowing when we entered the harbor. We anchored off a Jersey City wharf at 9:00 p.m. The New York lights, vessels and ferry boats looked very pretty.

Long before daybreak the boys were astir, polishing their shoes and their brasses.

There are many vessels in the harbor. The "Montauk" is anchored near us. The boys are shouting back and forth.

The air is a degree or two colder than the air of Virginia, but New York looks the same as ever.

Evening. Barracks in Trenton. We landed at the Jersey City wharf at 9:00 a.m. Some of the City Council received us at the dock. We waited until the rest of the regiment came ashore. After putting our knapsacks in the baggage crates, we formed line and marched up the street. We halted in front of the City Hall. There a large crowd of men, women and children had gathered. The City Council stood on the steps of the hall, while one of the members made us an address of welcome. We then counter marched to Taylor's Refreshment Saloon near the depot. Here we were served an excellent collation of roast beef, bread and butter and coffee. While I was waiting several Elizabeth acquaintances came up and greeted me. It was after 1:00 p.m. when we left Jersey City.

From the train the scenery looked delightfully familiar. We made a short stop at Newark but none at Elizabeth. We arrived at Trenton at 8:00 p.m. At the depot we were met by a band, who led us through the city, discoursing lively music. After a long shoulder-aching march with knapsacks we reached the barracks. As we went along, large crowds stood on the sidewalks. As we passed two fire houses, the bells on the hose carriages were vigorously rung.

Billy Doran has already visited our quarters. He says that we are to parade tomorrow. Purcell, Ford and I have an upper bunk.

It has been an exciting day. I cannot realize that I am back again in Jersey. I hope the furloughs will be issued tomorrow.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1864. *Elizabeth, N.J.*

Last evening I was on guard with orders not to let any go out but allow any to come in. This morning I went down town with Lt. Townley and assisted him in making out furlough papers in the office of Lt. Col. Buchanan.

At dusk we formed line and marched down town. We left our arms and accoutrements in a building near the railroad. Here Lt. Col. Stewart gave us our furloughs. A squad of us Elizabeth boys boarded the cars and we were on our way to good old "Betseyville." We reached the city at 10:30 p.m., and it looks the same as ever.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

OUR society has been seething with activity during the fall months. Three exhibitions have been completed and opened to the public, a dozen or more events have taken place within our walls, many classes from public and private schools, as well as colleges, have been accommodated, and all at a time when considerable cleaning, painting, and maintenance work has been accomplished. Our small but energetic staff has been very busy taking care of these events, as well as administering our library continuously and serving genealogical and historical researchers.

The New Jersey History Gallery, the only exhibition in the state which deals with the story of our development during the past three hundred years, has become, since its opening early in the season, very useful for classes and for those desiring an over-all historical picture. Great enthusiasm too has been shown for the more recently completed exhibition, the Nineteenth Century Gallery, devoted to the life and flavor of the Empire and Victorian periods and featuring clothing, personal effects and accessories, furniture, games and amusements, ceramics, glass, silver, and portraits. "Glimpses of Early Newark," also installed at the beginning of the fall season, has caused much favorable comment.

The latter exhibition was installed for the occasion of the meeting of the Newark Real Estate Board which held a luncheon meeting here on October 2. Following the luncheon, your director presented an illustrated talk on early and modern Newark, featuring many old scenes taken from the Society's files, and present-day views of the same locations.

Two days later the Huguenot Society of New Jersey held a program and afternoon tea here, at which Mr. Milton Conover spoke on Philip Freneau. Then followed the annual meeting of the New Jersey Society, Sons of the American Revolution, on October 17th, the East Jersey Board of General Proprietors on October 21, and a morning session of the Northeast Museum Conference whose three-day sixth annual meeting was held in Newark this year. The conference was attended by about one hundred professional museum staff members and many of them attended the session at the Historical Society, which was devoted to "The Use of Audio-Visual Aids in Museums."

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, October 29, at which some 145 members were present. The morning meeting concerned itself with business, committee reports, and the re-

election of Msgr. James F. Kelley, Dominic A. Cavicchia, Wilson C. Ely, Charles C. Gardner, Dr. Richard P. McCormick, Henry W. Pilch, and Reeve Schley to the Board of Trustees for three years. Following luncheon, the principal speaker, Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, president of Rutgers University, being ill and consequently unable to be present, Dr. McCormick instead delivered an intensely interesting address on the "History of the Voting Process in New Jersey."

On November 7, the Nova Caesaria Chapter, D.A.R., held their annual evening meeting and on the 4th of December the Railroadians of America presented for members of the Society and their organization, Mr. Billings Wilson, director of operations for the Port of New York Authority, who gave a very comprehensive story of Hudson River crossings in history and of the background and present-day services and operation of this bi-state agency.

On December 13, the Woman's Branch offered a Christmas program for their own members and those of the Society, at which time Mr. and Mrs. George Richard Brown spoke on "The Romance of Music Boxes," exhibiting and playing many from their own collections. Refreshments followed, plus the opportunity to view a Christmas tree display of about 1900, complete with candles, toys, and gifts. The ornaments and "gifts" were chosen and the tree was trimmed through the help of Mrs. James Higgins and Mrs. Richard Hartshorne, members of the Museum Committee and of the Woman's Branch. They were aided by Mr. Wiseman of the Society's staff.

The Society has received well over two hundred gifts to its museum during 1952, all of them interesting because of their reflection on manners and customs of bygone days and several having considerable association value. Among them are a cradle originally used by Aaron Burr, the gift of Mrs. Ronald Theodore Lyman of Waltham, Massachusetts, and a sword carried by General Frederick Frelinghuysen (1753-1804), the gift of Mrs. Joseph S. Frelinghuysen.

Dr. McCormick was elected a member of the Council of the American Association for State and Local History at their annual meeting in October at Houston, Texas. At this meeting an award was voted the Associated Railroads of New Jersey for the publication of *Railroads of New Jersey,* copies of which were distributed to the membership of this society last spring.

A film program of American history has been planned for the ten weeks beginning January 17, to be held in our newly acoustically treated auditorium. Some eighteen films will be shown in the series, which will be held on Saturday mornings at 11 A.M. and will tell the story of American growth from the early colonial period up to the present day.

The list of films and the dates are as follows: *January 17,* "Land of Liberty"; *January 24,* "18th Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia"; *January 31,* "Benjamin Franklin" and "Our Declaration of

Independence"; *February 7,* "Our Constitution" and "Our Bill of Rights"; *February 14,* "Thomas Jefferson" and "Our Monroe Doctrine"; *February 21,* "Communications Westward" and "Our Louisiana Purchase"; *February 28,* "Johnson and Reconstruction" and "Abraham Lincoln"; *March 7,* "Teddy, the Rough Rider," "Life of Thomas A. Edison," and "Cause and Immediate Effects of World War I"; *March 14,* "The Roosevelt Story"; *March 21,* "Two Decades of History" and "Our Stand in Korea."

A program for members and friends is planned for February when a selection of early New Jersey films will be shown, illustrating this state's role in movie history.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

The Pascack Historical Society, Park Ridge, New Jersey, founded in 1942, has probably set a record for speed in acquiring its own building. At a time when the Pascack Society was to be forced to vacate its storage facilities, the First Congregational Church of Park Ridge had just completed construction of its new edifice and was looking to sell its old one. Upon hearing of this, the trustees of the Pascack Historical Society met with those of the church, suitable terms were arranged, and within four months the purchase price of the building was collected through large donations from Society members and generous contributions from local townspeople and business establishments. Its new museum, the first in the area, was opened on November 1 and contains a varied collection of articles depicting the life of North Jersey communities, including Indian relics, articles used by early settlers, needlework and apparel, coins and stamps, a unique wampum machine invented locally in 1870, and histories of the establishment of local schools. With the acquisition of its own building, a most important step for any historical society, the organization is certain to exert a cultural force and stimulate an appreciation of local history in the community.

The Salem County, the Cumberland County, and the Vineland historical societies held a joint meeting at the old Friends' meeting house in Hancocks Bridge on June 21, 1952. This old meeting house has been abandoned for services by the Friends and is now leased by the Salem County Historical Society.

Mr. Harry Crispin, president of the Salem Historical Society, gave a short talk on the ancient landowners of the Lower Alloways Creek section. Dr. Richard P. McCormick, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, was the principal speaker and used as his theme "Conserving Our Heritage." Mrs. Howard Hancock of Greenwich, president of the Cumberland County Historical Society, presided. The meeting adjourned after the customary period of silence observed in Friends' meetings.

On Wednesday evening, October 29, the Salem County Historical Society presented to the Delaware

County Historical Society of Chester, Pa., the David Lloyd map of Chester, sketched on parchment and bearing the date 1699. The presentation was made at a dinner meeting in the Hotel Clubhouse in Chester by Mr. Crispin. Receiving the map for the Chester County Society were Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Jeffries, who had been instrumental in arranging for the gift of the map. The plan was originally drawn by Lloyd at the request of the surveyor-general and it was later presented to William Markham, Penn's deputy in the colony. Markham approved the plan, as is recorded on top of the sketch. Two years later, however, Penn chose the Sandeland plan, and the Lloyd plan was shelved.

A collection of valuable material including letters of pre-Revolutionary War days has recently been turned over to the State Archives by the state Department of Conservation and Economic Development. In explanation Commissioner Charles R. Erdman, Jr., said his department had acquired five volumes of original correspondence and research materials relating to Ringwood Manor in northern New Jersey as part of the 1936 Ringwood gift made to the state by Erskine Hewitt with additional land grants from Norwin Hewitt Green. The property is now a state park and the seventy-eight-room manor house is open during the summer as a public museum.

Letters written by Robert Erskine before and after he came from Scotland to take charge of the Ringwood Iron Works are part of the collection. Other items are messages to Erskine from Washington, financial reports of the products from the New Jersey works, accounts of the visits of notables to the mansion, and considerable Revolutionary War data. Much of the material was gathered in the early 1920's by Albert H. Heusser at the request of the Hewitt family. From his data, Heusser wrote *The Forgotten General,* depicting Erskine's great and little-known service as a geographer for General Washington. A brochure entitled *The Story of Ringwood Manor,* by Alden T. Cottrell, available at a small charge from the Department of Conservation and Economic Development, was also prepared from the original source material.

In accepting the valuable collection, State Librarian Roger H. McDonough anticipated considerable use would be made of it by writers and historians. "A man in England will be one of the first to benefit," McDonough added. "We are sending a microfilm copy of certain letters to a scholar preparing a doctoral thesis on the early ironworks in Great Britain. Among the letters written by Erskine are several describing his survey of the iron industry in England and Scotland in 1770 just before coming to the New World. Such a first-hand report should be very helpful to the English writer." So that no damage will result from handling of the original papers, the Library plans to have microfilm and photostatic copies prepared for the use of the public.

Prolonged heat may have reduced

the local attendance at state-owned historic sites during the past summer, but it didn't appear to dim the enthusiasm of long-distance visitors. Guest-book registrations from June through October show travelers came from forty-one states and twenty foreign countries. Among the latter were India, Japan, Italy, Australia, Scotland, and Greece. Mrs. Olga G. Atkins, supervisor of historic sites for the state Department of Conservation and Economic Development, suggests that New Jersey's nearness to United Nations headquarters brings a number of its visitors from foreign countries.

Interesting donations to the state's historic houses continued also. At the Lawrence House in Burlington, which has been unfurnished until now, the Captain James Lawrence Chapter of the Daughters of 1812 donated an authentic desk and chair of the period. An individual in the community gave the original peel used by the women of the Lawrence household to place their baking in the oven and to remove it when done. The Burlington County Historical Society also has contributed furniture and prints for the Lawrence display. Through gifts from Mrs. J. S. Frelinghuysen, it has been possible to furnish and open to public view a bedroom and a sewing room in the Old Dutch Parsonage at Somerville.

Special events at several of the houses brought groups with specific interests. The Walt Whitman House at Camden held an annual birthday celebration in the yard. Among the features were recording of Whitman's poetry set to music. Politically-minded tourists found special interest in the Grover Cleveland birthplace at Caldwell, and one of Cleveland's tall silk hats was borrowed from the house and used in the "Hats in the Ring" exhibit arranged by the New-York Historical Society.

The von Steuben house in North Hackensack, headquarters of the Bergen County Historical Society, offered an Indian exhibit for the autumn "month of falling leaves," which attracted a thousand visitors, and followed this with an exhibition of selected paintings of historic sites in Bergen County, the work of living artists. On November 19, a large attendance of members and guests of the Society heard an illustrated lecture by Mr. Willard L. DeYoe on Washington's campaign of 1780, from Morristown to New Windsor.

The Cumberland County Historical Society has received a gift of one thousand dollars, the interest of which is to be used for dispensing information about points of interest to the young people of 4-H Clubs. Designated "The Eugene Townsend Fund," the money will send four club members annually on a one-day historical tour of Philadelphia. For their annual meeting, Mrs. Roy Oliver spoke on "The Story of Glass in Cumberland and Salem Counties," exhibiting several specimens from her collection. The theme of glass will continue to be stressed, according to Mrs. Howard B. Hancock, president of the Society, because its manufacture played such an important part in the development of Salem and Cumberland

counties. The Wood Mansion, operated by the Society, received over a thousand visitors during the summer, including many hundreds of school children.

The Passaic County Historical Society has received as a gift of Harry B. Haines, publisher of the Paterson *Evening News,* a collection of historic documents and relics concerning a now little-known but colorfully prominent nineteenth-century Paterson silk manufacturer, Brig. Gen. Joseph Congdon, who died in 1914 after a meteoric rise fame as a business, military, and civic leader. A principal item in the collection, which includes fifty thousand samples of silk, is a 111-year-old Jacquard loom reproduction in silk of a painting depicting a "Visit of the Duke of d'Anmale to the shop of M. Carquillot, August 24, 1844," one of the first Jacquard loom painting reproductions ever made. It was presented with the collection principally because it has a direct bearing on the Jacquard branch of the silk industry which played an important part in the silk industry of Paterson throughout the years. The gift was made on November 18 at Lambert Castle, headquarters of the Society, following which D. Stanton Hammond, president of the Society, delivered an address on the life of General Congdon.

In Atlantic City, the Atlantic County Historical Society has been organizing a drive against the possibility that the Air Force will take over an area in Burlington and Ocean counties, including the Wharton Tract, for an airfield. Letters and telegrams were sent to the governor and to the head of the state Department of Conservation and Economic Development protesting the possible loss of water supply, game and recreation areas, and the possible obliteration of the Batsto Historical Village, a former center in the New Jersey iron industry.

During the summer, the Society visited Woodbury, as guests of the Gloucester County Society. Mrs. Robert T. Wetherill, its president, played host and Mr. Daniel W. Beckley spoke on old Gloucester County and the formation of Atlantic County. Following this, a picnic supper at the Friends' meeting house was arranged by Mr. Paul M. Cope, president of the Atlantic County Society, and his wife. The annual meeting on November 15 was held in Atlantic City, at which, among others, Mrs. Olga G. Atkins, supervisor of historic sites for the Department of Conservation and Economic Development, spoke.

The Monmouth County Historical Association of Freehold has been holding a series of lectures during the fall for its members. Speakers have included William J. Mackey, on "Early Americana"; Richard H. Moeller, on "Repairing and Refinishing Old Furniture"; J. Hallam Conover, on "18th Century Freehold"; A. Rulon Applegate, on "Historic Houses of Monmouth County," and your director, speaking on "The Role of an Historical Society in a Community."

On November 1, members of the Camden County Historical Society enjoyed a pilgrimage to Mt. Holly and National Park at Red Bank, covering the route taken by

Lafayette 175 years ago when he hastened to assist in opposing the British then coming up the Delaware to capture Philadelphia. The tour was guided by Albert J. Corcoran, who presented the historical background throughout the trip. This society was recently presented with a collection of New Jersey law books and several early Camden business and residence directories by William T. Reed, a Camden attorney. The Society's museum houses, among other items, a 1747 fire engine and a section of the chevaux-de-frise used to blockade the Delaware in the Revolution.

The Plainfield Public Library presented an exhibition on railroad history from October 17 through 30. Over five thousand visitors attended the show which included models, paintings, prints, photographs, colored movies and operating model railroads, pertaining to New Jersey Central, Baltimore and Ohio, New Jersey lines, and Plainfield trollies. Among the features were whistle-stop speeches from the rear end of a caboose by J. C. McLester, vice president of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, and R. G. Lewis, editor of *Railway Age*.

The celebration of Vineland's birthday, held each year on the 8th of August by the Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, was combined this year with a proper recognition of the consolidation of Landis Township with the borough of Vineland, which had taken place July 1. The Honorable Francis A. Stanger, of Cedarville, N.J., delivered an address upon the history of Vineland and the Honorable Benjamin Stevens, a native Vinelander, gave "Reminiscences," following an interlude of songs by Mrs. E. Roger Jones. The afternoon closed with tea, served by Mrs. Alexander M. Taylor and her committee.

The Society has recently erected in the stack-room basement a double row of three-tiered shelving, two feet wide and eighteen feet long, built to accommodate the newspapers accumulated during the past eighteen years. Ample provision has been made for future growth and the shelves are of a width to hold the volumes properly when the papers are bound.

Mr. J. Robert Werry was elected president of the Society at the fall election of officers.

The Paramus Historical and Preservation Society, sponsored by the old Paramus Reformed Church, Ridgewood, set Saturday, October 18th, for its annual pilgrimage to old homes in the area. Visited this year were five houses in the Wyckoff section.

The 250th anniversary of Christ Church in Middletown, Monmouth County, was observed on October 11 and 12, when an historical exhibit, a tour of Middletown homes and churches dating from the early days, and a seven-act pageant of dramatic highlights, featuring the history of the parish, were held. Included in the exhibit were the hand-wrought silver service given to the parish by Queen Anne, which has been in constant use since 1713, and the charter issued by George II. The tour of buildings included Marlpit Hall (1684), the Richard

Hartshorne house (1670), the Taylor house (1729), and the Baptist Church of Middletown (1688). Parishioners in costume played all the roles in the pageant which, among other scenes, depicted the saving of Penelope Stout in 1626 by one group of redskins from death at the hands of another group; the visitation of George Fox to Richard Hartshorne; and the baptism of William Leeds, a crony of Captain Kidd, by the Rev. Alexander Inness. There was also a parade of residents in colonial dress with prizes for the best costumes, square and folk dancing exhibitions and games.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

John E. Pomfret has completed a paper, "The Proprietors of East Jersey, 1682-1702," which will appear in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* during 1953.

Dorothy H. Cronheim, of 173 N. 7th Street, Newark, N.J., a graduate of the New Jersey College for Women, is working on her master's thesis at Ohio State University, on the subject, "A Study of New Jersey and Illinois Legislative Service Agencies." Her study includes a brief review of such agencies in Illinois and New Jersey, development of the Law Revision and Bill Drafting Commission in New Jersey, and an examination of the process of law revision in this state.

An edition of James Fenimore Cooper's letters is being prepared by Professor James F. Beard, Jr., 72 Murray Place, Princeton, N.J. Professor Beard, a member of the Department of English, Dartmouth University, would be pleased to learn of Cooper letters which may be in private hands or otherwise likely to escape notice.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

THE editors acknowledge gratefully the receipt of several publications of New Jersey interest for listing and for the Society's library. We hope that individual and institutional members will continue to send us in increasing numbers the local publications that should be found in the New Jersey Historical Society. Or, where that is not possible, we shall be happy to have word of the existence and source of such writings. We were pleased to receive from the Camden County Historical Society a three-page leaflet *History Begins at Home,* describing the resources and activities of that society. Other historical associations and libraries will wish to acquire this leaflet both for the information it contains and as an example of successful public relations.

PAMPHLETS

IN the sheaf of pamphlets here presented, about half are publications of the local Leagues of Women Voters in this state. Each local League is expected to make an objective study of the government, characteristics, and institutions of its community, as part of the citizenship education for which the League of Women Voters was founded. Most of these studies are published and are for sale at prices under one dollar from local League officers. A supply is also at the office of the League of Women Voters of New Jersey, 63 Washington Street, Newark. While the primary emphasis of these "Know Your Town" studies is contemporary, the pamphlets usually include historical background and reveal clearly the distinctive features of the places studied. A few surveys of counties have been made. Among these, the Hunterdon County booklet is outstanding for completeness of content and clear presentation. Maps are included in most of these pamphlets.

Clifton, Yesterday and Today. (Clifton, N.J.: Chamber of Commerce, 1952. 18 pages.) Little-known facts about a city celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of its incorporation.

Gloucester County in the Eighteen Fifties, Being the Diary of John Cawman Eastlack. EDITED BY LOUIS B. MOFFETT. (Woodbury, N.J.: Gloucester County Historical Society, 1952. 103 pages.) "Not merely a record of personal interests and experiences of the author, but . . . rather a picture of the daily life of the community."

Hackensack River . . . a Preliminary Examination and Survey.

(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951. 41 pages.) Survey of traffic and recommendations for channel improvements.

Hunterdon County. (Califon, N.J.: League of Women Voters of Hunterdon County, 1952. 84 pages. 50 cents.)

Know Your Town; a Hand Book of Somerville, New Jersey. (Somerville, N.J.: League of Women Voters, 1952. 31 pages. 50 cents.)

Know Your Town: Borough of Chatham. (Chatham, N.J.: The League of Women Voters of Chatham, 1952. 80 pages. 60 cents.)

Know Your Town: Bridgewater Township [Somerset County], *New Jersey.* (Neshanic, N.J.: League of Women Voters of Bridgewater Township, 1951. 27 pages. 50 cents.)

Know Your Town: Closter. (Closter, N.J.: League of Women Voters of Closter, 1951. 26 pages. 25 cents.)

New Jersey Citizens Date Book, 1953. (Newark, N.J.: League of Women Voters of New Jersey, 1953. 32 pages plus calendar. 25 cents.) Pocket memo, voter's information, directory of officials.

New Jersey State Prison; an Interpretation of Its Policies and an Analysis of Recent Disturbances. By Sandford Bates. (Trenton: New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, 1952. 27 pages.)

Newark Municipal Year Book, 1951-1952. Prepared under the Direction of Harry S. Reichenstein; compiled and edited by James P. Higgins. (Newark, N.J.: Board of Commissioners, 1952. 95 pages.) Includes history and photographs of Newark churches.

Old Tennent Church and the Battle of Monmouth Court House, and Washington Crossing and the McKonkey Ferry House. By John D. F. Morgan. (8 pages.) Reprint from the program of the triennial meeting of the General Society, Sons of the Revolution, at Princeton, June 22-25, 1952. Available from the author at 44 Trueman Avenue, Haddonfield.

Origin of Names of Army and Air Corps Posts, Camps, and Stations in World War II in New Jersey. By Mary Moore Allen. (Goldsboro, N.C., no date. 17 pages. Available from the author at $1.00.) Including biographical sketches of persons for whom the camps were named.

Our Town, Maplewood, New Jersey. (Maplewood, N.J.: League of Women Voters, 1952. 62 pages. 50 cents.) First published 1941, contains much new material.

Rebuilding Newark. Written and Designed by Alexander L. Crosby. (Newark, N.J.: Housing Authority of the City of Newark, 1952. 20 pages.) "Newark has become nationally known for the quality and scope of its housing program." This brochure, unusually effective in format, merits wide distribution and study.

Report and Abstract of Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Washington Association of New Jersey, February 22, 1952. (Morristown: Washington's Headquarters, 1952. 23 pages.) Includes the report of Dr. Francis S. Ronalds,

superintendent of the Morristown National Historical Park, and an address by Dr. John F. Sly, "A Good Time for Patricians."

Report of Study and Recommendations of the Legislative Commission to Study Narcotics. Second Edition. (Trenton, 1952. 119 pages.)

This is Westfield. (Westfield, N.J.: League of Women Voters of Westfield, 1952. 84 pages. 50 cents.) Available from the publisher, 645 Shadowlawn Drive, Westfield.

Village of South Orange, New Jersey. (South Orange: League of Women Voters, 1952. 28 pages. 50 cents.) "Only local government of its kind in New Jersey." Includes chronology, 1680-1949, and other valuable features.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

WHEN in 1951 we first began to assemble material for the department, "New Jersey in Print," it was our belief that the magazine articles on New Jersey did not amount to more than a half dozen items each month, and that the year's output would not be much more than a hundred articles. Anyone checking the well-known periodical indexes available in libraries would expect this to be the case. Actually the articles on New Jersey that have been listed in the spring, summer and fall issues of the PROCEEDINGS number 216. We do not count the forty-three indexed in January, 1952, since these were published in 1951. Adding the articles indexed in this issue of the PROCEEDINGS, the number approaches three hundred.

While many of these articles are very brief, they all serve to reveal the varied interests of Jerseymen, and the ways in which our state has made and is making America's history. Many of them point up areas where scholars may profitably do research. Some offer leads to popular writers for capturing the public interest in local history and institutions.

We have compiled, in connection with this department, a card list of magazines which contain, with varying frequency, articles of New Jersey interest. Nearly all of these magazines are on the shelves of the New Jersey Historical Society, or the Newark Public Library, where the card list may be examined.

NEW JERSEY'S PAST

"Atlantic City Penny Posts," by Edward D. Randall, in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1952, pp. 208-09.

"The Bar Room, Wilkins Inn," in *Bulletin* of the Gloucester County Historical Society, December 1952, pp. 21-22.

"The Class of '93, West Jersey Academy," by George E. Diament, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, p. 25.

"Early Medical Schools of New Jersey," by Fred B. Rogers, M.D., in *Journal of the Medical Society of*

New Jersey, October 1952, pp. 418-20. Queens (now Rutgers) College conferred the degrees of M.B. and M.D. in 1792 and 1793, and between 1812 and 1816, though the courses at the later period were given in New York City.

"Entries from the Diary of Schoolteacher Mark Rulou Dare (born 1827)," in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, pp. 27-28.

"Fast Line Album, a Pictorial History of the Public Service Railroad," in *The Marker,* No. 25, November 1952. The "Fast Line" trolley line which operated from Newark to Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, and Trenton, described in the bulletin of the North Jersey Chapter of National Railway Historical Society. Many photographs.

"Institute Interlude," by Anna R. Reeves, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, pp. 11-12.

"Irish Road," by Harry Marvin, in *Bulletin* of the Gloucester County Historical Society, December 1952, p. 23.

"Ivy Hall" (originally Bridgeton Female Seminary), by Bertha Reeves Laws, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, pp. 21-22.

"Jerseyan Labor Day Founder; Peter McGuire Was Camden Resident," in the *Psychogram,* October 1952, p. 25.

"Jonathan Pitney, M.D., Excerpts from the Pamphlet Compiled by the Reverend Allen H. Brown in 1886," in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1952, pp. 191-97.

"My Years at West Jersey Academy," by David Potter, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, pp. 13-20.

"Nursing in New Jersey, 1902-1952," in *New Jersey Nurse,* October 1952, pp. 2-17. Detailed history of the New Jersey State Nurses' Association, founded February 12, 1902.

"Our Nursing Pioneers," in *New Jersey Nurse,* October 1952, pp. 27-47. History of sixteen hospitals whose graduates became charter members of the New Jersey State Nurses' Association includes the following: Christ Hospital, Jersey City; Cooper Hospital, Camden; Mercer Hospital, Trenton; Muhlenberg Hospital, Plainfield; Mountainside Hospital, Montclair; St. Joseph Hospital, Paterson; Englewood Hospital; Elizabeth General; Monmouth Memorial; the Morristown Memorial; Orange Memorial; Passaic General; Paterson General; and St. Barnabas'; Clara Maas (Lutheran Memorial); and City Hospital in Newark.

"Presbyterian Colonial Education," by Thomas Clinton Pears, Jr., in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* September 1952, pp. 165-74. Concluded from June 1952 issue, this study culminates in the founding of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University.

"Register of Two Old Vineland Hotels, the Vineland House and the Magnolia House" (1864-67),

in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* January-April 1951, pp. 179-80. To be continued.

"Right Here in New Jersey (Places of Unusual Interest in Your Home State Suggested by the New Jersey Automobile Club to Spice One or Two Day Motor Jaunts): McKonkey's Ferry House," in *New Jersey Autoist,* December 1952, p. 5.

"SNA Highlights and Sidelights," in *New Jersey Nurse,* October 1952, pp. 20-21. Chronology of nursing history in New Jersey 1902-52.

"The Site of the South Jersey Institute . . . Today," by Jacob B. Jones, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, p. 23.

"Schools of Yesterday in Old Greenwich," by Sarah Sheppard Hancock, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, pp. 3-6.

"Some Notes on the First Two Years of the Farmer's Club," in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* January-April 1951, pp. 170-79. Includes an account of the Mabbitt Cultivator, 1870.

"The South Jersey Institute," by William C. Mulford, in *We Women, the Women's Magazine of Bridgeton, N.J.,* October 1952, pp. 7-10.

"The Trenton Times, 70 Years of Service," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton Magazine,* October 1952, pp. 6-7 *ff.*

"Vineland's First Telephone Line," by William J. Mulligan, in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* January-April 1951, pp. 150-52.

"Wood Lawn House, New Jersey College for Women," in *Hobbies,* March 1951, pp. 96-97.

GENEALOGICAL MATTERS

"Adams Genealogy" (concluded), by Arthur Adams, in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1952, pp. 176-89.

"Bridgeton Baptist Cemetery," in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* January-April 1951, pp. 158-60. From records copied by Charles E. Sheppard, 1927-34.

"Census of Atlantic City, August 13, 1855," in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1952, pp. 207-08. Copied from original records by Olive Conover Rundstrom.

"English Origins of William and Sarah Biddle, of Mount Hope, Burlington County, N.J., a Correction," in *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* September 1952, pp. 73-90.

"George Trenchard of Salem, N.J., and Descendants," by Lewis D. Cook, in *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* September 1952, pp. 3-71.

"The Gould-Walls Genealogy," by Herbert Arthur Walls, Sr., in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* January-April 1951, pp. 153-58.

"Headstone Records, at Clark's Mills, Now Port-Republic, Atlantic County," in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1952, pp. 210-14.

"Line of Levi Hall," by Mary E. L. Hall, in *Vineland Historical*

Magazine, January-April 1951, pp. 161-69.

"Pension Papers of Jeremiah Leeds, First Permanent Resident of Absecon Island," in Atlantic County Historical Society *Yearbook,* Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1952, pp. 198-206.

"Strolls in Old Graveyards; Headstone Epitaphs of Long Ago in the Parsippany Cemetery," in *Psychogram,* October 1952, p. 8.

PROMINENT JERSEYANS

"Biographies of 3 Members, N.J. Highway Authority," in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, pp. 20-21. Ransford J. Abbott, Bayard L. England, Orrie De Nooyer.

"The Cradle of American Industry," by Kathleen Oliver, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* November 1952, pp. 6-8. The great inventor's laboratory, maintained in West Orange by the Thomas A. Edison Foundation.

"Dr. Laurence M. Collins," in *Psychogram,* September 1952, p. 5. Clinical director, New Jersey State Hospital, Greystone Park, at the hospital for thirty-five years.

"Dr. Marcus Albert Curry Dies, Was Head of this Institution Thirty Years," in *Psychogram,* December 1952, pp. 6-8.

"Dr. Samuel A. Cosgrove," in *New Jersey County Government,* March 1952, p. 12. Brief biographical note on the medical director and superintendent of Margaret Hague Maternity Hospital, Jersey City.

"Edison Memorial Tower," by Elinor V. Wyckoff, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* October 1952, p. 10. Memorial and museum at Menlo Park open to visitors 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., Tuesday through Sunday.

"Edith R. Stuckey Retires," in *Public Health Nursing,* August 1952, pp. 215-16. Public information officer of New Jersey Tuberculosis League since 1927.

"Gallery of Noteworthy New Jerseyans: Carroll M. Shanks, Benjamin Page, Jr., Robert O. Driver, and Milton C. Beard, Community Chest chairmen," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* October 1952, pp. 6-7.

"George O'Hanlon, M.D.," in *Psychogram,* October 1952, p. 5. President of the Board of Managers of the New Jersey State Hospital, Greystone Park.

"The Leadership of Wilson, United States Foreign Policy, 1912-1920," by James T. Shotwell, in *Current History,* November 1951, pp. 263-68.

"The Leadership of Woodrow Wilson," by Edward Ryerson, in *American Scholar,* Summer 1952, pp. 301-08. Analysis of the public character of Wilson as determined by his inner nature.

"Mattie S. Doremus" (cartoon biography), by Joe Masick, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, p. 8. Mattie S. Doremus of Paterson, a member of the Passaic County Board of Chosen Freeholders and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Association of Chosen Freeholders of New Jersey.

"Pollster Who's Never Been Wrong Talks to New Jersey Editors," by Douglas James and Leo McGuire,

in *The Jersey Publisher,* October 1952, p. 7. Workings of the New Jersey Poll described by Kenneth L. Fink, director of the Princeton Research Service.

"R. L. McCann, a Biography," in *Explosives Engineer,* November-December 1951, p. 164. R. L. McCann was an officer of the New Jersey Zinc Company.

"Santa Claus Visits the Hudson,' by R. W. G. Vail, in New-York Historical Society *Quarterly,* October 1951, pp. 337-43. Robert Walter Weir (1803-1889) painted an 1837 portrait of Santa Claus, antedating the work of Thomas Nast of Morristown, famous illustrator of Santa Claus.

"Santa Was a Thin Man," in *New Jersey Bell,* Christmas 1952, pp. 3-4. Artist Thomas Nast, Morristown resident for nearly thirty years, created the popular figure of Santa Claus.

"Something about People: Dr. Robert S. Garber," in *Welfare Reporter,* November 1952, p. 5. New medical director of State Village for Epileptics at Skillman.

"Something about People: Maurice M. Kott," in *Welfare Reporter,* November 1952, p. 5. Chief psychologist, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies.

"Stephen Foster Lived Here, Believed to Have Written 'Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair' during Hoboken Residence," by Mary Fredericks, in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* September 1952, pp. 5-6 *ff.*

"They Call Him John," by Laurence B. Johnson, in *Nation's Schools,* July 1952, pp. 44-46. Accomplishments of New Jersey's commissioner of education, 1943-52, John Bosshart.

"Worm's Eye View of Library Leaders," by M. C. Manley, in *Wilson Library Bulletin,* November 1952, pp. 229-35. John Cotton Dana and Beatrice Winser in the early years of the Newark Public Library.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

"Airspray Program Aims to Destroy Adult Mosquitoes," by D. M. Jobbins, in *New Jersey Agriculture,* September-October 1952, pp. 5-6. Limited to critical areas in South Jersey, and supported by state appropriation, mosquito control by airplane is carried on by New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station.

"Atlantic City Race Course Modern 'Saratoga-by-the-Sea,'" by Albert S. Smith, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, p. 40.

"Census Data Reflect New Jersey's Economic Development," in *Review of New Jersey Business,* October 1952, pp. 5-11. Population trends, 1790-1950; housing, 1940-50; manufacturing growth 1947-50; retail trade, 1939-48; wholesale and service trade, 1929, 1939, 1948.

"Chimney Rock Quarry, New Jersey; Expanded Production at Bridgewater Township Keeps Pace with Heavy Demand for Crushed Stone," by Albert S. Keshen, in *Explosives Engineer,* January-February 1952, pp. 22-23 *ff.* From Chimney Rock, "Washington often watched troop movements in the plains to the east."

The area, the site of nineteenth-century copper mining, is also of geological interest. Crushed stone recently quarried built the Turnpike.

"Citizens' Committee Seeks Urban Highways, Conducts Poll to Convince Rural-Minded State Planners," by Henry W. Connor, in *National Municipal Review,* July 1952, pp. 365-66. Mr. Connor is with the Bureau of Municipal Research, Newark.

"The County Judicial System and Law Enforcement," by James M. Collier, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, pp. 36-39. Advance-of-publication presentation of Rutgers University Press book continued from September.

"Development of Sussex County Tracts," by Joseph Bauer, in *New Jersey Outdoors,* October-November 1952, pp. 7-13. Detailed account of development of public shooting grounds since 1933, with federal assistance under Pittman-Robertson Wildlife Restoration Act.

"Differential Distribution of Community Knowledge," by Graham M. Sykes, in *Social Forces,* May 1951, pp. 376-82. A survey, by sampling method, of knowledge of local government, education and welfare, possessed by Plainfield adults at various educational and income levels.

"Englewood . . . Continues to Be 'Our Town in Turmoil,'" in *Nation,* May 3, 1952, p. 415. Free-speech incident occasioned by the visit of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of National Council of Negro Women.

"50 Years of Rutgers Ceramics," in *Report from Rutgers,* October 1952, pp. 2-3. The School of Ceramics at Rutgers University, founded 1902, carries on research for a major New Jersey industry.

"Firestone and Griggstown Libraries," by Elinor V. Wyckoff, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* November 1952, p. 21. New Jersey's most modern library, at Princeton University, and its most primitive one, a former canal bridge-tender's shack in Somerset County, built 1835.

"4 Questions on the Garden State Parkway," by R. D. Ayers, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, p. 47. Sussex County freeholder, president of the Association of Chosen Freeholders, questions the relation of parkway to highway needs of the state as a whole.

"Free Speech Wins [in] Red Bank," in *Nation,* April 26, 1952, p. 392. Controversy over the speech by Dr. Theodore Brameld, professor of philosophy at N.Y.U. College of Education.

"General History of the Atlantic City Board of Trade, Inc., by Clifford J. Newsome, in *Negro History Bulletin,* November 1952, pp. 27-30. Account of "an organization dedicated to promoting Negro business in Atlantic City, New Jersey"; includes a biography of Dr. C. Morris Cain who received the 1950 B'nai Brith Citizenship Award as a leading citizen of Atlantic City.

"Governor Driscoll Calls Parkway 'Vital Phase' of Road Program," by Carmen Davis, in *New Jersey County Government,* October

1952, p. 43. Description of the motion picture film, "Your Garden State Parkway," available from the New Jersey Highway Authority.

"How Business Uses the Census," by Harry Deane Wolfe, director, Market Research, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company, in *Review of New Jersey Business,* October 1952, pp. 3-4 *ff.*

"How the Garden State Parkway Benefits All New Jersey," by Ransford J. Abbott, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, pp. 11-12 *ff.*

"How We Save Lives in Our Town," by Ruth and Edward Brecher in *Saturday Evening Post,* August 9, 1952, pp. 26-27 *ff.* Volunteer ambulance corps in Leonia, N.J.

"It's Red Feather Time in the Suburbs," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* October 1952, p. 5. History of the development of united fund-raising campaigns dates the first New Jersey Community Chest, 1919, in Plainfield.

"Jersey's Teen Age Samaritans," by Glenn D. Kittler, in *Coronet,* August 1952, pp. 66-68. Bloomfield's young people incorporate as Charles Sellers Foundation to produce "Talent Time," a show to raise funds to assist other young people.

"The Medical & Health Plan in Civil Defense" (continued), by Dr. Daniel Bergsma, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, pp. 30, 33, *ff.*

"Moonbeam McSwine's Fate," in *Time,* August 11, 1952, p. 22. Henry Krajewski, pig farmer and presidential candidate, defends Secaucus against Governor Driscoll's criticism.

"More State School Aid Would Help Mercer County Taxpayers," by Edward A. Thorne, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, pp. 27-28 *ff.* To be continued.

"New Jersey Borough Experiments with Novel Scheme for Regulating Community Development," in *Regional Plan News,* September 1952, p. 2. Borough Council of Mountain Lakes purchased twenty per cent of the land within its boundaries to avert impending residential development.

"The New Jersey Turnpike," by Larry Casey, in *State Government,* May 1952, pp. 105-106 *ff.*

"New Jersey's Growing Agriculture," by Alan G. Waller and John W. Carncross, agricultural economists, College of Agriculture, Rutgers University, in *Review of New Jersey Business,* October 1952, pp. 12-13 *ff.*

"New Jersey's Socio-Economic Regions Subject of Study," by Gerald Breese, in *Review of New Jersey Business,* July 1952, pp. 4-5, *ff.* A "prototype study" is being made with help from the Princeton University Bureau of Urban Research on the Trenton-Camden metropolitan region, one of seven socio-economic regions in this state.

"The Newark-Jersey City Wage Survey," by Robert R. Behlow, in *Review of New Jersey Business,* July 1952, pp. 6-7 *ff.* Made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, beginning in November 1951. Highlights and brief statistical reports.

"The Parkway and Northern New Jersey," by Orrie de Nooyer, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, pp. 13, 31.

"Pressure Groups in Political Patterns," by James E. Downes, in *New Jersey Educational Review,* November 1952, pp. 77-80. Thoughtful and candid article, with examples from recent actions by New Jersey organizations.

"Report of the Educational and State Exhibits," by Roy and Jean Benjamin, in *National Button Bulletin,* November 1952, pp. 376-81. New Jersey Button Society won prize for best exhibit based on material from its own state, in Buffalo show, in October. Titled "Pages from a New Jersey Scrap Book," the exhibit illustrated New Jersey history and industries.

"Press Panel Told about News Suppression throughout State," by Richard Smith, in *The Jersey Publisher,* October 1952, p. 6. Closed board meetings and news "handouts" by government officials discussed by John McHale, editor of the Penns Grove *Record.*

"Public Health Nursing Service in the New Jersey State Department of Health," by Mrs. Gladys Jacoby Wilson, in *Public Health News,* August 1952, pp. 213-14. Organization of the Bureau of Public Health Nursing, created 1949.

"Respectable Republican Graft, by Trenton Correspondent," in *New Republic,* October 27, 1952, p. 8. Linking together "Republican State Machine" and state motor vehicles commissioner.

"Ronson's Time of Trouble," in *Fortune Magazine,* December 1952, pp. 137-39 *ff.* Ronson Art Metal Works, Inc., of Newark, faces Japanese competition in cigarette lighters.

"Second Annual State Conference on Planning and Development," in *Review of New Jersey Business,* July 1952, pp. 9, 19. Held in New Brunswick, May 9, 1952. Summary of speeches. Complete report available from the Department of Conservation and Economic Development, Trenton.

"South River Beats Power Blackout with a 315-KW Portable Generator," by John F. Fitzpatrick, in *American City,* October 1952, p. 133. Mayor describes the rescue from power failure in one of three towns in all New Jersey that make their own electricity.

"The Story of Montclair's Unity Institute," by Barbara Russell, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* November 1952, pp. 11-12. Educational and cultural institution, established 1920, features concerts and travel lectures.

"Top Banana," in *New Jersey Bell,* October 1952, pp. 18-21. World's largest banana-unloading terminal begins operations in Weehawken.

"Trucks Welcome: New Jersey Turnpike, Newest and Finest Expressway in the Nation Was Built for Motor Freight Carriers as Well as Passenger Cars," in *Via Port of New York,* March 1952, pp. 1-4.

"What the New Jersey Courts Say about Bible Reading in the Public Schools," by Lee O. Garber, in *Nation's Schools,* July 1952, pp. 61-62.

The invasion of New Jersey in November, 1776: British troops climbing the Palisades. From a contemporary drawing.